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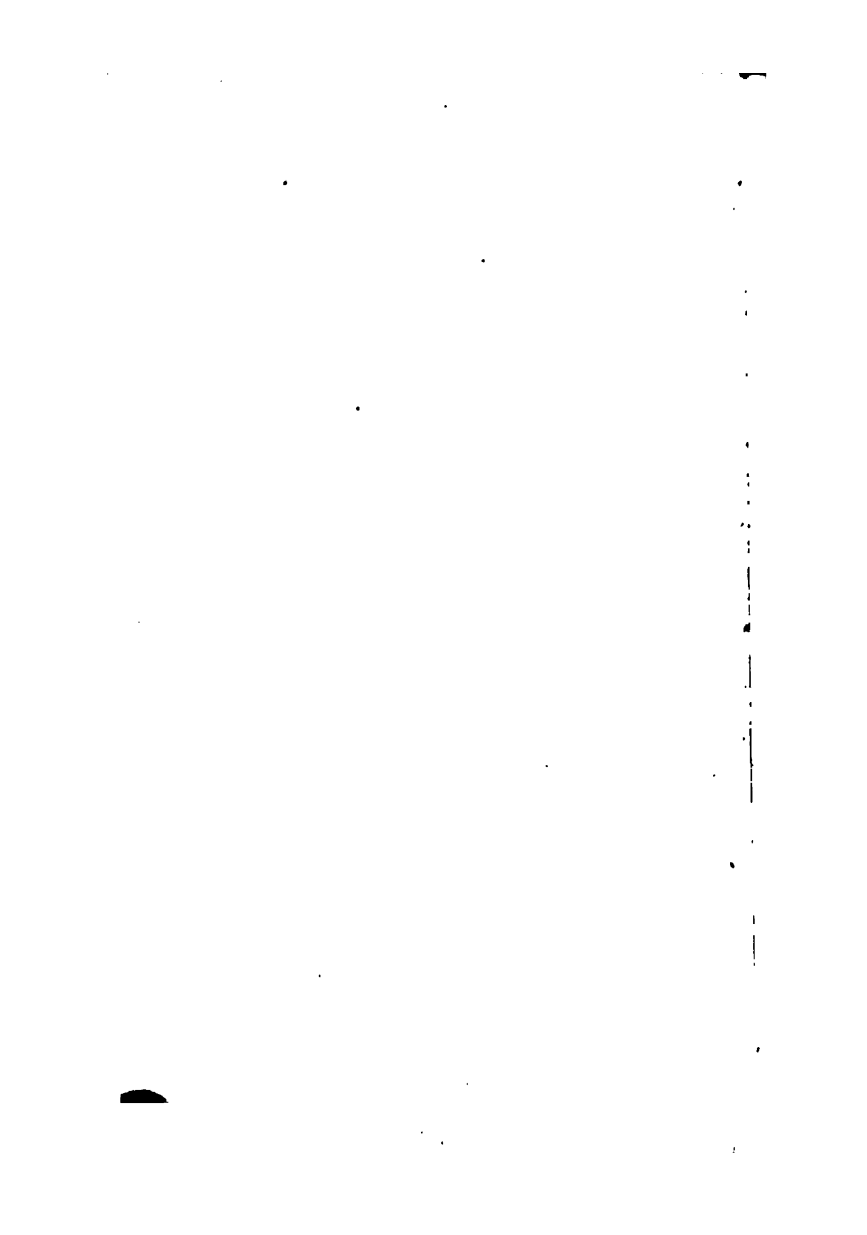
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Mr Nathaniel H. Stanger

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**' This translation is executed with general fidelity and
perspicuity.'—BIBLIOTHECA BRITANNICA.**

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HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK XXVII.

CHAP. 1. SUCH was the state of affairs in Spain. In Italy the consul Marcellus, after regaining possession of Salapia, which was betrayed into his hands, took by storm Maronea and Meles, cities belonging to the Samnites. He made prisoners three thousand of Hannibal's soldiers, left in garrison: the booty, which was considerable, was given up to the soldiers: here were found, also, two hundred and forty thousand pecks of wheat, and one hundred and ten thousand of barley. But the joy occasioned hereby was much less than the grief felt for an overthrow a few days after, near the city of Herdonea. Cneius Fulvius, proconsul, lay there encamped, in hopes of recovering that city, which, after the defeat at Cannæ, had revolted from the Romans; but his post was neither strong by nature, nor secured by proper guards. The negligence natural to that commander's disposition was increased by perceiving that the inhabitants, as soon as they heard that Hannibal, after the loss of Salapia, had withdrawn from that part of the country into Bruttium, began to waver in their attachment to the Carthaginians. Intelligence of all these particulars was conveyed to Hannibal by private messengers from Herdonea; and, while it made him anxious to preserve an allied city, at the same time inspired hopes of attacking the enemy unprepared. With his troops there-

fore lightly equipped for expedition, he hastened to Herdonea by such long marches, that he almost anticipated the report of his approach; and, to strike the greater terror, he advanced in order of battle. The Roman commander, fully equal to him in boldness, but inferior in judgment and strength, hastily led out his forces, and engaged him. The fifth legion, and the left wing of allied infantry, commenced the fight with vigor. But Hannibal gave directions to his cavalry that, as soon as the lines of infantry should have their thoughts and eyes intirely occupied on the contest between themselves, they should ride round; that one half of them should fall on the enemy's camp, and the other on the rear of their troops that were engaged. With a sneer on the name of Fulvius, he assured them that, as he had utterly defeated him in the same country two years before, the present battle would have a similar issue. Nor was this expectation ill-grounded: for, after many of the Romans had fallen, in the close conflict between the lines of infantry, (the companies and battalions nevertheless still maintaining their ground,) the tumult raised by the cavalry in the rear, and the enemy's shout from the camp, which was heard at the same time, put to flight the sixth legion, which, being posted in the second line, was thrown into disorder by the Numidians; as were afterwards the fifth, and those in the van. Some fled in hurry and confusion, the rest were surrounded and slain; among whom fell Cneius Fulvius himself, with eleven military tribunes. How many thousands of the Romans and allies were slain in that battle, who can positively affirm, when I find in some historians thirteen thousand, in others not more than seven? The conqueror possessed himself of the camp and the spoil. Having discovered that Herdonea was disposed to revolt to the Romans, and would not continue faithful to him after his departure, he removed the inhabitants to Metapontum and Thurium, and burned the city to the ground. The leaders of the party who were found to have held secret conference with Fulvius he put to

death. The Romans who escaped the slaughter of this disastrous day fled, half armed, by different roads into Samnium, to the consul Marcellus.

2. Marcellus, not too much dismayed by so great a disaster, wrote to Rome to the senate an account of the general and army being lost at Herdonea; adding, that notwithstanding this misfortune, 'he, who had quelled the haughty spirit of Hannibal, when his confidence was at the highest, in consequence of his victory at Cannæ, was now going against him, with the same degree of resolution, and would take effectual care that his present joy and exultation should be short.' At Rome, as people's grief for the past was great, so were their fears of the future. The consul, passing over from Samnium into Lucania, pitched his camp at Numistro, on level ground, within view of Hannibal, who was posted on a hill. He gave, besides, another proof of confidence in his own strength, for he was the first to offer battle: nor did Hannibal, on seeing the standards advance through the gates, decline the challenge. However, they drew up their forces in such a manner, that the right wing of the Carthaginians stretched up the hill, and the left wing of the Romans was brought close to the town. From the third hour the action had lasted until night, and the fatigue of fighting for such a length of time had overpowered the foremost lines, consisting, on the side of the Romans, of the first legion and the right wing of allies; on Hannibal's side, of the Spanish infantry, Balearic slingers, and the elephants, which, at the beginning of the engagement, had been brought into the field. And now the fight flagged for a considerable time, neither party having gained any advantage, when the third legion advanced into the place of the first, and the left wing of the allies into that of the right; on the side of the enemy, likewise, the wearied were relieved by fresh troops. On this, both parties being in full spirits and vigor, instead of the former languid efforts, a furious conflict at once arose; but night separated the combatants before the victory could be decided. Next

morning the Romans stood, in order of battle, from sunrise, during a great part of the day ; and none of the enemy coming out to face them, gathered the spoils at their leisure, and collecting the bodies of their slain into one spot, burned them on a funeral pile. In the following night Hannibal decamped in silence, and marched off towards Apulia ; but, as soon as daylight discovered the enemy's flight, Marcellus, leaving his wounded at Numistro, with a small garrison, the command of which he gave to Lucius Furius Purpureo, a military tribune, set out immediately in close pursuit, and overtook him at Venusia. Here, during several days, many skirmishes happened between parties sallying from the outposts, in which infantry and cavalry were intermixed, and which produced more noise and tumult than real advantage to either side ; but which, in general, terminated in favor of the Romans. From thence the two armies marched through Apulia without any engagement of consequence ; for Hannibal, seeking opportunities for stratagems, removed always by night, Marcellus never following but in clear daylight, and after having carefully examined the country through which he was to pass.

3. Meanwhile, as Flaccus was spending much time at Capua, in selling the property of the nobility, and setting to farm the forfeited estates, all of which he let for a rent of corn, he was furnished with a fresh occasion for practising severity on the Campanians ; for he received certain information of a wicked scheme, of an extraordinary nature, which had for some time been hatching in secret. Having removed the soldiers out of the houses, for two reasons, first, because he chose that the houses of the city should be held along with the lands ; and next, because he feared lest excessive luxury might enervate his army, as it had that of Hannibal, he had made them build huts for themselves, in the military manner, near the gates and walls. Now most of these were formed of hurdles or boards, some of reeds interwoven, and all of them covered with straw, as if purposely intended for combus-

tion. One hundred and seventy Campanians, at the head of whom were two brothers of the name of Blossius, had conspired to set fire to all these at one hour of the night. But the design was discovered by some slaves belonging to the Blossii; whereon, the gates being instantly shut by order of the proconsul, and the soldiers having, on the signal being given, assembled under arms, all who were concerned in the conspiracy were seized, and after undergoing a severe examination by torture, condemned and put to death. The informers were rewarded with their freedom, and ten thousand asses¹ each. The Nucerians and Acerrans, having complained that they had no place of habitation, as Acerra was partly burned, and Nuceria demolished, Fulvius sent them to Rome to the senate. Permission was granted to the Acerrans to rebuild what had been thus destroyed; and the Nucerians, agreeably to their own choice, were transplanted to Atella, the inhabitants of the latter being ordered to remove to Calatia. Among the multiplicity of important affairs, (some prosperous, others adverse,) which occupied the thoughts of the public, even the citadel of Tarentum was not forgotten: Marcus Ogulnius and Publius Aquilius being commissioned for the purpose, went into Etruria to purchase corn, which was to be conveyed to Tarentum; and, together with the corn, were sent thither, as a reinforcement to the garrison, one thousand men out of the city troops, consisting of equal numbers of Romans and allies.

4. The summer was now nearly elapsed, and the time of the consular election drew nigh: but a letter received from Marcellus, affirming that it would be injurious to the public interest, if he were to depart a step from Hannibal, who was retreating before him, while he, by a close pursuit, distressed him materially, threw the senate into some perplexity, as they were unwilling either to call home the consul, at a time when he was most actively employed against the ene-

¹ 32l. 5s. 10d.

my, or to let the year pass without consuls. It was judged most advisable, though the other consul Valerius was abroad, that he should rather be recalled, and even from Sicily. Accordingly, in pursuance of an order of the senate, a letter was sent to him by Lucius Manlius, pretor of the city, and together with it that of the consul Marcellus, that from them he might perceive the reason which induced the senate to recall him from his province, rather than his colleague. About this time ambassadors came to Rome from king Syphax, with a recital of all the successful battles which he had fought against the Carthaginians, and assurances that 'their king entertained not a more inveterate enmity to any nation than to the Carthaginian, nor a more warm friendship for any than for the Roman;' adding, that 'he had before sent embassies into Spain, to the Roman generals, Cneius and Publius Cornelius; and that he now wished to seek, as it were, at the fountain head, the friendship of the Romans.' The senate not only answered his ambassadors with kindness, but sent others in return, charged with presents to the king; these were Lucius Genucius, Publius Poetelius, and Publius Popilius. The presents which they carried were, a purple gown and vest, an ivory chair, and a golden bowl of five pounds weight. They received orders also to proceed to visit other chieftains of Africa, carrying with them donatives of gowns with purple borders, and golden bowls weighing three pounds each. To Alexandria, also, were sent Marcus Atilius, and Manius Acilius, in embassy to king Ptolemy Philopater and queen Cleopatra, to revive and renew the former treaty of friendship; bearing with them a purple gown and vest, with an ivory chair for the king; an embroidered gown and a purple robe for the queen. During this summer many prodigies were reported from the neighboring cities and country: that at Tusculum a lamb was yeaned with its udder full of milk; and that the temple of Jupiter was struck on the roof by lightning, and almost intirely stripped of its covering; that at Anagnia, about the same time,

the ground before one of the gates was fired, and without the aid of any combustible matter continued burning a day and a night; that at Compitum, in the district of Anagnia, the birds forsook their nests on the trees in the grove of Diana; that near the mouth of the harbor of Tarracina snakes of wonderful size were seen in the sea, and sporting like fishes; that at Tarquinii a pig was littered which had a human face; and that, in the district of Capena, at the grove of Feronia, four statues sweated blood profusely for a day and a night. These evil omens were expiated with victims of the greater kind, in conformity to the order of the pontiffs; and a supplication was ordered to be performed at all the shrines, one day at Rome, and another in the district of Capena, at the grove of Feronia.

5. The consul Marcus Valerius, on receipt of the letters by which he was summoned home, gave up the command of the province and the army to the pretor Cincius; sent Marcus Valerius Messala, commander of the fleet, with half of the ships to Africa, to plunder the country, and at the same time to gain intelligence of the motions and intentions of the Carthaginians: then he set out himself with ten ships, and arriving at Rome after a prosperous voyage, immediately convened the senate. Here he recited the services which he had performed; that 'after hostilities had been carried on in Sicily, and many severe losses sustained on land and sea during almost sixty years, he had brought the war to a final termination. That there was not one Carthaginian in Sicily, nor one Sicilian, of those who had been compelled by fear to fly and live abroad, who was not then at home; that all had been reinstated in the possession of their own cities and estates, and were employed in ploughing and sowing; that the land, after having been long deserted, was at length filled again with inhabitants, and in a condition both to afford plenty to its occupiers, and the most certain supplies of provisions to the Roman people either in peace or war.' After this Mutines, and such others as had deserved well of the Roman peo-

ple, were introduced to the senate; who, to fulfil the engagements of the consul, bestowed rewards on them all. Mutines was even made a Roman citizen, an order for that purpose being proposed to the commons by a plebeian tribune, in pursuance of directions from the senate. While these matters passed at Rome, Marcus Valerius Messala, with fifty ships, arriving on the coast of Africa before day, made an unexpected descent on the lands of Utica, which he ravaged to a great extent; and, after taking many prisoners and other booty of every kind, reembarked, set sail for Sicily, and returned to Lilybæum, on the thirteenth day after he had left it. On examining the prisoners, the following particulars were discovered, and all, in order, communicated by letter to the consul Lævinus, that he might know the real state of affairs in Africa. That 'there were at Carthage five thousand Numidians, commanded by Massinissa, son of Gala, a young man of a very enterprising spirit; and that people were employed in all parts of Africa, in hiring other troops, which were to be sent to Spain, to Hasdrubal, in order that, with the most numerous army which he could muster, and with all possible expedition, he might pass over into Italy and join Hannibal. That on this measure the Carthaginians placed all their hopes of success. That, besides this, they were fitting out a very great fleet for the recovery of Sicily, and that the prisoners believed it would sail thither in a very short time.' When the letter containing this information was read, it made so great an impression on the senate, that they all concurred in opinion that the consul ought not to wait for the elections, but to nominate a dictator to hold them, and return without delay to his province. This plan was obstructed by a dispute which arose; for the consul declared that he would nominate dictator Marcus Valerius Messala, who was then in Sicily commanding the fleet; but the senate insisted that a dictator could not be nominated who was in any place out of the Roman territory, which extended not beyond the limits of Italy. Mar-

cus Lucretius, plebeian tribune, proposing the question hereon, the senate decreed thus : ' That the consul, before he left the city, should consult the people as to whom they wished to be appointed dictator, and should nominate to that office whomsoever they should order. That if he refused this the pretor should hold the meeting ; and if he also were unwilling to do it, that then the tribunes should propose the question.' Valerius declared that he would not ask the judgment of the people on a matter properly belonging to his own jurisdiction, and he forbade it in the pretor ; on which the plebeian tribunes proposed the question, and the commons ordered that Quintus Fulvius, then at Capua, should be created dictator. But in the night preceding the day on which the assembly of the people was to be held, the consul went off privately to Sicily ; and the senate, left thus unsupported, took the resolution of ordering a letter to be sent to Marcus Claudius, desiring him to give assistance to the commonwealth, which his colleague had deserted, and to nominate the dictator fixed on by the people. Accordingly, Quintus Fulvius was nominated dictator by the consul Claudius ; and in compliance with the same order of the people, the dictator, Quintus Fulvius, named Publius Licinius Crassus, then chief pontiff, master of the horse.

6. The dictator, on coming to Rome, sent Cneius Sempronius Blæsus, who had been a lieutenant-general under him at Capua, into the province of Etruria, to take the command of the army there, in the room of the pretor, Caius Calpurnius, whom he called away by letter, to command his own army at Capua. He appointed for the elections the earliest day on which they could be held ; but a dispute arising between the dictator and the tribunes, they could not be finished on that day. The younger Galerian century having obtained by lot the privilege of voting first, named as consuls Quintus Fulvius, and Quintus Fabius : and the centuries, voting in their course, would have followed them, had not two plebeian tribunes, Caius and

Lucius Arennius, interposed. They asserted that 'the re-electing of the same person to the supreme magistracy was not easily reconcilable to the principles of a republic; and much more pernicious would the precedent be, if the very person who presided at the election were himself to be chosen. If therefore the dictator admitted his own name in the list of candidates, they would protest against the election; but if he received on the list any other except himself, they would give no obstruction to the business.' The dictator maintained the propriety of the proceedings of the assembly, on the grounds of a vote of the senate, an order of the people, and several precedents: for 'in the consulate of Cneius Servilius, when the other consul Caius Flaminius had fallen at the Thrasymenus, the question was, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people, and the people ordered that so long as the war continued in Italy it should be lawful for them to re-elect to the consulship, and that as often as they should see proper, any of those who had already held that office. As to precedents in point, he had one of ancient date, in the case of Lucius Postumius Megellus, who, while he was interrex, was, in the assembly where he himself presided, created consul, with Caius Junius Bubulcus; and a recent one, in the case of Quintus Fabius, who certainly would never have suffered himself to be re-elected if it were inconsistent with the public good.' After long dispute, maintained by these arguments, an agreement at last took place between the dictator and the tribunes to abide by the determination of the senate. The senators were of opinion that the present state of the commonwealth was such as required that the administration of its affairs should be in the hands of experienced commanders, skilled in all the arts of war; and they therefore disapproved of any opposition to the proceedings of the assembly of election. The tribunes then acquiesced, and the election proceeded. Quintus Fabius Maximus a fifth time, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus a fourth, were declared consuls. The follow-

ing persons were then elected pretors : Lucius Veturius Philo, Titus Quintius Crispinus, Caius Hostilius Tubulus, Caius Arunculeius. As soon as the appointment of magistrates for the year was finished, Quintus Fulvius resigned the dictatorship. Towards the end of this summer a Carthaginian fleet of forty ships, under the command of Hamilcar, sailed over to Sardinia, and committed great depredations in the district of Olbia. Afterwards, on the pretor Publius Manlius Vulso appearing there with an army, they proceeded to the other side of the island, and ravaged the lands of Caralita, from whence they returned with booty of all kinds to Africa. Several Roman priests died this year, and others were substituted in their places. Caius Servilius was made a pontiff, in the room of Titus Otacilius Crassus ; Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, an augur, in the room of Otacilius Crassus ; and the same Tiberius Sempronius, a decemvir for directing religious rites, in the room of Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Caius. Marcus Marcius, king in religious matters, and Marcus Æmilius Papus, chief curio, died, but their places were not filled up during this year. Lucius Veturius Philo, and Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff, were created censors for the year. Licinius Crassus had not, before this appointment, been either consul or pretor, but was advanced, at one step, from the edileship to the censorship. However, these censors neither chose a senate, nor transacted any public business, being prevented by the death of Lucius Veturius, on which Licinius abdicated the office. The curule ediles, Lucius Veturius and Publius Licinius Varus, repeated the exhibition of the Roman games once. The plebeian ediles, Quintus Catus and Lucius Porcius Licinius, out of the money accruing from fines, erected brazen statues in the temple of Ceres, and exhibited games with much magnificence and splendor, considering the circumstances of those times.

7. At the end of the year, Caius Lælius, Scipio's lieutenant-general, on the thirty-fourth day after he

set sail from Tarraco, arrived at Rome, and passing through the streets, with the train of prisoners whom he brought, attracted a vast concourse of people. Next day, being introduced to the senate, he delivered the advices with which he was charged, that Carthage, the metropolis of Spain, had been reduced in one day, several revolted cities brought back to obedience, and new alliances formed with others. From the prisoners information was gained, corresponding, in general, with that contained in the letter of Marcus Valerius Messala. What gave the greatest uneasiness to the senate was Hasdrubal's intended march into Italy, which was scarcely able to withstand Hannibal, and the force which he had already with him. Lælius also, coming out into the general assembly, gave a similar account. The senate, in consideration of the services performed by Publius Scipio, decreed a supplication for one day, and then ordered Caius Lælius to return with all expedition to Spain, with the ships which he had brought thence. On the authority of a great many historians, I have fixed the taking of Carthage in this year, although I am not ignorant that several have placed it in the year following; but it appeared to me very improbable that Scipio should have passed a whole year in Spain without doing any thing. [A. U. C. 543. B. C. 209.] The consulate of Quintus Fabius Maximus, a fifth time, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, a fourth, commencing on the ides of March, a decree was passed on the same day, appointing Italy the province of both, but they were to command separately in different quarters; Fabius to conduct the operations of the war at Tarentum, Fulvius in Lucania and Bruttium. Marcus Claudius was continued in command for a year. The pretors then cast lots for their provinces: Caius Hostilius Tibullus obtained the city jurisdiction; Lucius Veturius Philo the foreign, with Gaul; Titus Quintius Crispinus, Capua; and Caius Arunculeius, Sardinia. The troops were distributed among the provinces in this manner: to Fulvius were decreed the two legions which Marcus Valerius Lævinus had in Sicily; to

Quintus Fabius those which Caius Calpurnius had commanded in Etruria; the city troops were to replace those in Etruria, and Caius Calpurnius was to command the same province, with the army; Titus Quintius was to have the government of Capua, with the army which had served there under Quintus Fulvius; Lucius Veturius was to receive from Caius Lætorius, propretor, the province of Ariminum, with the army then on the spot; to Marcus Marcellus were assigned the legions with which he had in his consulate acted successfully; to Marcus Valerius, in conjunction with Lucius Cincius (for they also were continued in command in Sicily), the troops of Cannæ were given, with orders to complete their full complement out of the surviving soldiers of Cneius Fulvius' legions. These were collected together, and sent by the consuls into Sicily, being stigmatised by the same ignominious order under which the troops of Cannæ served, and those of the army of the pretor Cneius Fulvius, whom the senate, through resentment at the like cowardice, had formerly ordered thither. To Caius Arunculeius were assigned, for Sardinia, the same legions which had served in that province under Publius Manlius Vulso. Publius Sulpicius was continued in command for a year, to hold the province of Macedonia, and with the same legion and the same fleet which he then had. Thirty quinqueremes were ordered to be sent from Sicily to Tarentum, to Quintus Fabius the consul; and, with the rest of the fleet, Marcus Valerius Lævinus was either to sail over to Africa himself, to ravage the country, or to send thither Lucius Cincius, or Marcus Valerius Messala. With respect to Spain no change was made, only that Scipio and Silanus were continued in command, not for a year, but until they should be recalled by the senate. Such was the distribution made of the provinces, and of the commands of the armies for that year.

8. Among other business of more serious importance, the assembly, convened for the purpose of electing to the priesthood a chief curio, in the room of Marcus

Æmilius, revived an old dispute; for the patricians insisted that Caius Mamilius Vitulus, the only plebeian candidate, ought not to be allowed to stand, because none but a patrician had ever held that office of the priesthood. The tribunes being appealed to, referred the business to the senate. The senate voted that the people might act therein as they should think proper. Thus Caius Mamilius Vitulus was elected chief curio, being the first plebeian admitted into that office. Publius Licinius, chief pontiff, compelled Caius Valerius Flaccus, against his will, to be inaugurated flamen of Jupiter. Caius Lætorius was created decemvir for the performance of religious rites, in the room of Quintus Mucius Scævola, deceased. I should willingly pass over in silence the reason of the flamen being forced into the office, laboring as he then did under a bad character, had he not afterwards acquired a very good one. Caius Flaccus had spent his youth in idleness and debauchery, and his vicious courses had drawn on him the displeasure of his own brother Lucius Flaccus, and of his other relations; and Publius Licinius was in hope of reclaiming him. Indeed, when his thoughts became engaged in the care of the sacrifices and religious performances, he quickly made such a complete alteration in his conduct, from what it had hitherto been, that, among all the young men of the time, no one was held in higher esteem, or more intirely approved by the principal patricians, by his own family, and by all. This universal good character inspiring him with a proper sense of his own worth, he asserted a privilege which had for many years been laid aside, on account of the unworthiness of former flamens, that of having a seat in the senate. On his coming into the senate-house, the pretor, Lucius Licinius, led him out; on which he appealed to the tribunes of the commons, alleging that he only claimed an ancient privilege of his priesthood, which was conferred on the office of flamen, together with the purple-bordered robe and the curule chair. The pretor argued that such a right depended not on the copies of annals, rendered obsolete

by their antiquity, but on the customary practice of more recent times; and that in the memory of their fathers, and even grandfathers, no flamen of Jupiter had been allowed it. The tribunes thought it reasonable that, as the right had been suffered to fall into disuse through the inattention of former flamens, the injury ensuing should affect only themselves, and not the office; and accordingly, without any opposition from the pretor himself, and with the universal approbation of the senate and commons, they introduced the flamen to a seat in the senate, though all men were of opinion that his having attained his object was owing to the strict integrity of his conduct rather than to any privilege of the priesthood. The consuls, before they departed for their provinces, raised two city legions, and such a number of soldiers as was necessary to make up the complement of the other armies. The force which hitherto had served in the city the consul Fulvius gave to his brother Caius Fulvius Flaccus, lieutenant-general, with orders to march it into Etruria, and to bring home to Rome the legions then in that province. The other consul, Fabius, having collected the relics of Fulvius' army, which amounted to three thousand three hundred and thirty-six men, ordered his son Quintus Maximus to conduct them into Sicily, to the proconsul Marcus Valerius, and to receive from him the two legions and thirty quinquereines. The removal of these legions out of the island made no diminution, in respect either of strength or appearance, in the force stationed in that province: for, besides two veteran legions, completely recruited to their full complement, the proconsul had a great multitude of Numidian deserters, both horse and foot, and he also enlisted in his service those Sicilians who had served in the army of Epicydes, and that of the Carthaginians, men well experienced in war. By annexing a part of these foreign auxiliaries to each of the Roman legions, he preserved the appearance of two armies; with one of which he ordered Lucius Cincius to guard that part of the island which was formerly the kingdom of Hiero;

and, with the other, he himself took charge of the rest of it, separated formerly by the boundaries of the Roman and Carthaginian dominions. He likewise made division of the fleet, which consisted of seventy sail, in order that they might extend their protection of the coasts round the whole circumference of the island. Attended by the cavalry of Mutines, he went in person through every part of the province, to view the lands, observe what parts were cultivated, and what were not, commending or reproving the owners accordingly. In consequence of his care in this particular, such an abundance of corn was produced that, besides sending a quantity to Rome, he conveyed to Catana a sufficient supply for the army, which was to be employed during the summer at Tarentum.

9. But the transportation of those soldiers into Sicily, the greater part of whom were Latines and allies, was very near proving the cause of formidable disturbances; so true it is, that the issues of great affairs often depend on trivial circumstances: for the Latines and allies, in their meetings, began to murmur that 'they had now for ten years been drained by levies and contributions. That generally every year they suffered great losses in the war. Many were slain in the field, many were cut off by sickness; and that every one of their countrymen, enlisted as a soldier by the Romans, was more effectually lost to them, than if he were taken prisoner by the Carthaginians; because the latter was sent back, without ransom, to his country, whereas the other was ordered by the Romans out of Italy, into banishment indeed, rather than to military service. The troops of Cannæ were now growing old in that situation, having been in it nearly eight years, and would end their lives before the enemy, whose strength was at the present in a state particularly flourishing, would retire out of Italy. If veteran soldiers were not to return home, and still new ones to be enlisted, there would not, in a short time, be one of that description remaining. Wherefore it was become necessary, before they should be reduced to the last degree of desolation and want, to

deny to the Romans that which particular circumstances alone would shortly render it impossible to grant. If that people saw the allies cordially uniting in such a measure, they certainly would think of making peace with the Carthaginians: otherwise, as long as Hannibal lived, Italy would never be free from war.' Thus did they argue in their assemblies. The Roman colonies were at this time thirty in number; six of whom had ambassadors at Rome; and twelve of whom presented a remonstrance to the consuls, stating that they had not the means of furnishing the supplies of men and money. These were Ardea, Nepes, Sutrium, Alba, Carseoli, Cora, Suessa, Circeii, Setia, Cales, Narnia, and Interamna. The consuls, surprised at such an extraordinary declaration, and wishing to deter them from the meditated secession, to which end they supposed that censure and reproof would be more effectual than gentle measures, answered, that 'the expressions which they had dared to use were such as the consuls could not prevail on themselves to repeat in the senate: for they contained not a refusal of military duty, but an open defection from the Roman people. They advised them, therefore, to return home instantly to consult with their respective countrymen, as if no step had yet been taken; since their infamous design, though disclosed in words, had not proceeded to action; and to remind them that they were not natives of Campania, or of Tarentum, but of Rome. That from thence they derived their origin, and from thence were sent out into colonies, into lands taken from enemies, for the purpose of increasing population; and that, consequently, whatever duties children owe to parents, these they owed to the Romans, if they had any remains of natural affection, or any regard for their mother country. They desired them, therefore, to confer on the matter anew; for that, as to the measures which they had inconsiderately mentioned, their tendency was to betray the Roman empire, and to give up the conquest of it to Hannibal.' Though the consuls, one after the other, reasoned with them in this

manner for a long time, yet the ambassadors were not in the least moved, but replied, that 'they had nothing new to represent to the senate at home, neither had that assembly-grounds for new deliberation, when they neither had men to be enlisted, nor money to pay them.' The consuls finding them inflexible, laid the affair before the senate: and here it excited such serious apprehensions in every mind, that great numbers cried out, that 'the ruin of the empire was at hand; that the other colonies would act in the same manner; so would the allies; that all had conspired to betray the city of Rome to Hannibal.'

10. The consuls endeavored to console and encourage the senate, telling them 'the other colonies would maintain their allegiance and duty as heretofore; and that even these which had swerved from their duty, if ambassadors were sent round among them instructed to apply reproofs, and not intreaties, would be impressed with respect for the sovereign authority.' Having received power from the senate to act and manage as they should see most conducive to the public good, they began by sounding the dispositions of the other colonies; and then, summoning their ambassadors, demanded of them in public, whether they had their contingents of soldiers ready according to the regulation? To this Marcus Sextilius of Fregellæ, in behalf of the eighteen colonies, made answer that 'the soldiers were ready according to the regulation; that if a greater number should be required, they would bring them; and, that whatever else the Roman people should command or wish, they would perform with zeal and diligence. That they wanted not sufficiency of means, and had more than a sufficiency of inclination.' On this the consuls, after premising that all the praises which themselves could bestow would be inadequate to their merits, unless they were joined by the thanks of the whole body of the senate in full assembly, desired them to accompany them into the senate-house. The senate complimented them by a decree conceived in the most honorable terms possible, and then charged the consuls to conduct them into an assembly of the people also,

and there, among the many other important services which those colonies had performed to them and their ancestors, to make proper mention of this recent instance of their meritorious conduct towards the commonwealth. Even now, and after so many ages, their names should not be lost in silence, nor should they be defrauded of their due praise: they were these—Signia, Norba, Saticulum, Brundisium, Fregellæ, Luceria, Venusia, Adria, Firma, Ariminum; on the coast of the other sea, Pontia, Pæstum, and Cosa; and in the inland parts, Beneventum, Æsernia, Spoletum, Placentia, and Cremona. Supported by these, the Roman empire was enabled to stand; and they received every mark of gratitude both in the senate, and in the assembly of the people. The former ordered that no mention should be made of the other twelve dependencies, which had refused to furnish their quota for the war, and that the consuls should neither dismiss nor detain their ambassadors, nor hold any communication with them: such a tacit proof of displeasure was judged the most suitable to the dignity of the Roman people. While the consuls were busy in expediting the other necessary preparations for the campaign, it was resolved to draw out of the treasury the vicesimary gold (that is to say, a fund formed of the twentieth part of the value of slaves enfranchised), which was reserved for exigences of the utmost necessity. There was drawn out accordingly, to the amount of four thousand pounds weight of gold. Of this were given to the consuls, to Marcus Marcellus and Publius Sulpicius, proconsuls, and to Lucius Veturius, the pretor, to whom the lots had given the province of Gaul, five hundred pounds each; and besides this there were given, in particular charge, to the consul Fabius, one hundred pounds of gold to be carried into the citadel of Tarentum. The remainder they employed in making contracts, with ready money, for clothing the army, who were then serving in Spain, with so much honor to themselves and to their commander.

11. It was also resolved, that before the consuls set

out from the city they should expiate several prodigies which had happened. On the Alban mount a statue of Jupiter, and a tree, standing near the temple; at Ostia, a grove; at Capua, a wall, and the temple of Fortune; and at Sinuessa, a wall and gate, were struck by lightning. Farther, it was reported that the Alban water flowed in a bloody stream; that, at Rome, in the cell of the temple of *Fors Fortuna*, an image, which was in the crown of the goddess, fell from her head into her hands; that an ox spoke at *Privernum*; that a vulture, while the forum was crowded, flew down into one of the shops; and that, at Sinuessa, an infant was born whose sex was doubtful, such as are commonly called in Greek (a language more manageable than ours, particularly in the compounding of words,) *Androgynes*; that a shower of milk fell; and that a boy was born with the head of an elephant. These prodigies were expiated with the larger kind of victims. Orders were given for a supplication to be performed at all the shrines, and prayers to be offered during one day, for the averting of misfortunes; and a decree passed that the pretor, *Caius Hostilins*, should vow and celebrate the games of *Apollo*, in like manner as they had of late years been vowed and celebrated. At the same time, the consul *Quintus Fulvius* held an assembly for the election of censors. The censors chosen were men who had never yet been consuls, *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus* and *Publius Sempronius Tuditanus*. By direction of the senate the question was proposed to the people; and the people ordered that these, by their censorial authority, should let to farm the lands of *Campania*. The choosing of the senate was delayed by a dispute between the censors about the nomination of the prince of it: the making the choice had fallen, by lot, to *Sempronius*; but *Cornelius* alleged that he ought to observe the practice handed down from their ancestors, which was to appoint as prince the person who in the list of censors stood the first of any then living, and this was *Titus Manlius Torquatus*. *Sempronius* maintained, that when

the gods gave a person the lot of appointing, they gave him at the same time full freedom of choice: that he would act in this case agreeably to his own judgment, and would name, to the honor contended for, Quintus Fabius Maximus, whom he could prove to be the first of the whole Roman state, even in Hannibal's opinion. After a long dispute his colleague gave up the point, and Semprenius chose the consul, Quintus Fabius Maximus, prince of the senate. Then the list of the new senate was read, in which eight were left out, among whom was Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, infamous for having, after the defeat at Cannæ, advised the abandonment of Italy. In their review of the equestrian order also, they censured every one concerned with him; but the number disgraced on that account was very small. From all the cavalry of the legions of Cannæ then in Sicily, and their number was great, their horses were taken away. To this they added another punishment in point of time; ordering that the campaigns which those men had served on horses given by the public should not intitle them to release, but that they should serve during ten others on horses of their own. They also searched for, and discovered, a great number, who ought to be ranked in the cavalry; and all of these who had been seventeen years old at the beginning of the war, and had not served, they disfranchised. They then contracted for the repairs of the buildings round the forum, which had been destroyed by the fire,—seven shops, the shambles, and the royal palace.

12. Having finished the necessary business at Rome, the consuls set out for the campaign. Fulvius, first, went forward to Capua; in a few days after Fabius followed, and he earnestly intreated his colleague in person, and Marcellus by letter, to make the most vigorous efforts to keep Hannibal employed, while he should carry on the siege of Tarentum; observing that, when that city should be taken from the enemy, who was already repulsed in every quarter, and would then have no place where he could rest, or to which

he could retreat for safety, he would not have even a pretence for staying longer in Italy. He likewise sent an express to Rhegium, to the commander of the body of troops, which the consul Lævinus had placed there, to act against the Bruttians, and which consisted of eight thousand men, all accustomed to live by plunder, the greater part of whom had been brought out of Sicily from Agathyrna, as was mentioned above. To these were joined many natives of the country, who deserted from the Bruttians, equally daring, and under equal necessity to dare every thing. He ordered this band to be led, first, to ravage the lands of Bruttium, and afterwards to besiege the city of Caulon. These orders they executed, not only with diligence but with avidity; and after plundering the country, and dispersing the inhabitants, attacked the city with their utmost vigor. Marcellus, incited by his colleague's letter, and also by an opinion which he had himself conceived, that he was the only Roman general able to cope with Hannibal, quitted his winter-quarters as soon as forage could be found, and met him at Canusium. The Carthaginian was at this time employed in endeavoring to entice the Canusians to a revolt, but on hearing of Marcellus' approach, he decamped and retired. The country was open, affording no cover for an ambuscade, for which reason he resolved to draw back into more woody tracts. Marcellus pressed close on his steps, encamped within view of him, and, as soon as the trenches were finished, drew out his legions and offered battle. Hannibal sent out single troops of cavalry, and the light spearmen from his infantry, to skirmish with the enemy, but did not think it advisable to risk the issue of a general engagement. He was however drawn into a contest of that sort which he wished to avoid: for although, by marching away in the night, he gained some ground of the enemy, yet Marcellus overtook him in an open country, and, as he was forming his camp, put a stop to his works, by attacking the workmen on all sides. In consequence of this a pitched battle ensued, in which all the forces

on both sides were engaged; but night coming on, they separated, without any advantage being gained on either side. They then hastily, before it grew dark, fortified their camps, at a very little distance from each other. Next day, as soon as light appeared, Marcellus led out his forces to the field; nor did Hannibal decline the contest, but in a long speech exhorted his men to 'remember Thrasymenus and Cannæ, and to crush the presumption of the foe, who pressed so closely on their steps; not suffering them either to march or encamp in quiet, or even to breathe, or look about them. Every day the rising sun and the Roman army appeared together on the plains. But if the enemy should once be compelled to quit the field, especially with some loss of blood, they would afterwards conduct their operations with less turbulence and violence.' Irritated by such expressions, and at the same time vexed at being continually harassed, on quitting their camp they began the fight with great fury. The battle was maintained for more than two hours; then, on the Roman side, the right wing and the chosen band, called extraordinaries, began to give ground; on observing which Marcellus brought up the eighteenth legion to the front. But, while the others were retiring in confusion, and these advancing with but little alacrity into their place, the whole line was disordered, and in a little time totally broken: at last, fear getting the better of their shame, they fairly turned their backs. In this battle, and the flight which followed, there fell no less than two thousand seven hundred of the Romans and allies; among these four Roman centurions, and two military tribunes, Marcus Licinius and Marcus Fulvius. Four military standards were lost by the wing which first fled, and two by the legions which advanced in the place of the flying allies.

13. After the army had retired into the camp, Marcellus reprimanded them in terms so harsh and bitter, that they felt more from the discourse of their incensed commander, than from all they had suffered in the unsuccessful fight through the whole day. He said to

them, 'as matters have turned out, I praise and thank the immortal gods, that the victorious enemy did not assault our camp itself, while you were hurrying into the gates and over the rampart in such utter dismay. You would certainly have abandoned that, through the same panic that made you give up the battle. What fright is this? What terror, what forgetfulness both of your own character and that of your adversaries, has at once seized your minds? Surely they are the same enemies, in defeating and pursuing of whom you spent the whole of the last summer; who for some days past have fled before you night and day, while you pressed on their rear; whom yesterday you did not allow either to continue their march, or to form their camp. I say nothing of the advantages on which you ought to pride yourselves; but will mention what, of itself, ought to fill you with shame and remorse: yesterday you fought it out to the end on equal terms. What alteration has last night, what has this day made? Have your forces been diminished; have theirs been augmented? I cannot persuade myself that I am speaking to my own army, or to Roman soldiers. The arms and appearances of the men are such as usual. But, if you had possessed the usual spirit, would the enemy have seen your backs? Would he have carried off a standard from any one company or cohort? Hitherto, he has boasted of putting our legions to the sword; you, this day, have been the first who have conferred on him the glory of putting a Roman army to flight.' On this the troops universally besought him to pardon their behavior of that day; and intreated him, whenever he pleased, to make another trial of the courage of his soldiers. 'I will try you, soldiers,' said he, 'and to-morrow will lead you into the field, that in the character of conquerors, not of vanquished men, you may obtain the pardon which you desire.' He then ordered that the cohorts which had lost their standards should receive barley for their allowance, and the centurions of the companies whose standards had been lost he deprived of their swords;

commanding that all, both infantry and cavalry, should be ready under arms on the following day. The assembly was now dismissed, all acknowledging that the reproofs which they had received were not more severe than they deserved; for that no person in the Roman army had, that day, behaved like a man, except the general alone, to whom they ought to make atonement, either by their death or by a glorious victory. On the day following they attended according to orders, armed and accoutred. The general then commended them, and said, that 'he would bring forward, into the first line, those who had fled first the day before, and the cohorts which had lost their standards; that he now gave notice, that it was incumbent on them to fight and to conquer, and to exert themselves vigorously, one and all, to prevent the news of yesterday's flight reaching Rome before that of the present day's triumph.' They were then ordered to refresh themselves with food, that in case the fight should last longer than usual, they might have strength to go through it. After every thing had been said and done to rouse the courage of the soldiers, they marched out to the field.

14. When this was told to Hannibal, he said, 'We have to deal with an enemy who can neither bear good fortune nor bad: if he gets the better, he pursues the vanquished with presumption and vehemence: if he is worsted, he renews the contest with the victors.' He then ordered the signal to be sounded, and led out his forces. Both parties fought now with much more vigor than the day before; the Carthaginians struggling to maintain the glory acquired yesterday, the Romans to remove their disgrace. On the side of the Romans, the left wing and the cohorts which had lost their standards, fought in the front line; while the twentieth legion was drawn up on the right wing. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, and Caius Claudius Nero, lieutenants-general, commanded the wings; Marcellus himself took the charge of the centre, that he might animate the men by his presence, and be an immediate

witness of their behavior. On Hannibal's side, the front line was composed of the Spanish troops, who were the main strength of his army. When the fight had long continued doubtful, Hannibal ordered the elephants to be brought up to the van, hoping by their means to occasion fear and disorder. At first they broke the ranks, and by treading down some, and terrifying others, on either side, so as to put them to flight, made an opening in the line in one part; and the alarm would probably have spread farther, had not Caius Decimius Flavius, a military tribune, snatching the standard of the first band of spearmen, ordered that company to follow him. He then led them to the spot where the elephants were throwing all into confusion, with directions to discharge their javelins at them. Every weapon took place, for there was no difficulty in hitting, at a small distance, bodies of such huge bulk, especially as they were crowded close together. But though they were not all of them wounded, yet those, in whose flesh the javelins stuck, as they are creatures whose motions cannot be depended on, betaking themselves to flight, drove back even those that were unhurt. And now, not any particular company alone, but every soldier who could come up with the retreating elephants, with all his might hurled javelins at them. Thus attacked, the more violently did the animals rush on their owners, and made so much the greater carnage of them, than they had made of the enemy, as one of them, when frightened or hurt, is hurried on more forcibly than he could be driven by the manager sitting on his back. While the enemy's line was in this great disorder, in consequence of those beasts breaking through it, the Romans made a brisk onset, and without much opposition from troops so scattered and confused, drove them off the ground. Marcellus ordered his cavalry to charge them as they fled, and the pursuit did not cease until they were driven, in consternation, into their camp: for besides other circumstances which caused terror and tumult, two elephants had fallen in

the very entrance of the gate, so that the men were obliged to make their way over the trench and rampart. Here the slaughter of the enemy was the greatest. There were killed no less than eight thousand men, and five elephants. Nor did the Romans gain the victory without loss of blood: of the two legions, about one thousand seven hundred were killed, and of the allies above one thousand three hundred. Great numbers, both of Romans and allies, were wounded. In the following night Hannibal decamped, and though Marcellus wished to pursue him, he was prevented by his wounded, which were in great number. Scouts, who were sent to observe his march, brought intelligence next day that Hannibal had taken the road towards Bruttium.

15. About the same time the Hirpinians, Lucanians, and Volscians, surrendered themselves to the consul Quintus Fulvius, delivering up Hannibal's garrisons which they had in their cities, and were mildly received by the consul with only a verbal reproof for their past errors. Hopes of similar gentle treatment were held out to the Bruttians also, through two brothers, Vibius and Pactius, of the most illustrious family of any in that nation, who came to request the same terms of capitulation which were granted to the Lucanians. The other consul, Quintus Fabius, took by assault Manduria, a town in the territory of Salentum. Here he made four thousand prisoners, and gained much booty of other kinds. Proceeding thence to Tarentum, he pitched his camp at the very mouth of the harbor. Of the ships, which Livius had kept here for the purpose of protecting convoys, he loaded part with machines and implements fit for assailing walls; the rest he furnished with engines, stones, and missile weapons of every kind; the storeships also, not confining himself to such only as were moved by oars, he fitted out in the same manner, in order that some might bring out the machines and ladders to the walls, while the others, from their ships at some distance, should annoy with missile weapons the men employed in de-

sending them. These ships were thus fitted up and prepared for the purpose of an attack on that side of the city which is washed by the open sea, which was now clear of the enemy; for the Carthaginian fleet had sailed over to Corcyra, at the time when Philip was preparing to attack the Ætolians. Meanwhile the party which carried on the siege of Caulon in Bruttium, hearing of Hannibal's approach, and fearful of being overpowered, retired to an eminence, which, though it secured them from an immediate attack, was destitute of every other convenience. In the prosecution of the siege of Tarentum, Fabius received very great assistance towards the accomplishment of that important business, from an incident trivial in appearance; the Tarentines had in the city a party of Brutians, given to them by Hannibal, and the commander of this party was desperately in love with a young woman, whose brother was in the army of the consul Fabius. This man, being informed by a letter from his sister of her new acquaintance with a stranger of so great wealth, and so highly honored among his countrymen, conceived hopes that by means of his sister her lover might be brought into any scheme; and this project he communicated to the consul: his reasoning appeared not ill founded, and he was ordered to go as a deserter into Tarentum. Here being introduced by his sister to the notice of the commander, he began by artfully sounding his disposition, and having satisfied himself that his temper was as fickle as he could wish, by the aid of female blandishments he prevailed on him to betray the post, of which he commanded the guard. When both the method and the time for the execution of this design were settled, the soldier was let out of the town privately, through the intervals between the guards, and related to the consul what had been done, and what was farther intended. At the first watch Fabius, after giving proper directions to the troops in the citadel, and to those who had the guard of the harbor, went himself quite round the harbor, and sat down, in concealment, on the

side of the city facing the east. The trumpets then began to sound at once, from the citadel, from the port, and from the ships which had been brought to the shore on the side next to the open sea. At the same time a shout was raised, and a prodigious tumult purposely made, on every side where there was very little danger. Meanwhile the consul kept his men quiet and silent. Democrats therefore, who had formerly commanded the fleet, and who happened now to command there, perceiving every thing near him quiet, while other parts resounded with tumult and shouting like that of a city stormed, fearful lest, while he hesitated, the consul might force a passage and march in his troops, carried off his party to the citadel, because the most alarming noise proceeded from that quarter. Fabius, from the length of time, and likewise from the silence which prevailed, (for where, a little before, there was an uproar among the men rousing each other, and calling to arms, now not a word was heard,) imagined that the guard was withdrawn; he therefore ordered the ladders to be brought up to that part of the wall where, according to the information of the contriver of the plot, the cohort of Bruttians held the guard. In this place, favored and assisted by the Bruttians, the Romans first gained possession of the wall, over which they climbed into the city; and then the nearest gate was broken open, that the troops might march through in a body. These entering the town a little before day, raised a shout, and without meeting any one in arms, proceeded to the forum, having drawn on themselves the attention of the combatants in every quarter, whether at the citadel or the harbor.

16. At the entrance of the forum a vigorous opposition was made, but it was not persevered in. A Tarentine was no match for a Roman, either in spirit, in arms, in warlike skill, nor yet in vigor or bodily strength. They only discharged their javelins, and then, scarcely waiting till the fight began, turned their backs; and as they were acquainted with the streets of the city, ran different ways to their own houses, or

those of their friends. Two of their commanders, Nico and Democrates, fell fighting courageously. Philomenus, who had been the author of the plot for betraying the city to Hannibal, rode away from the fight at full speed; his horse was not long after seen straying through the city without a rider, but his body was never found, and the general opinion was that he fell from his horse into an open well. Carthalo, as he was coming to the consul unarmed, to remind him of their fathers being connected by an intercourse of hospitality, was slain by a soldier who met him in the way. The rest were put to the sword without distinction, armed and unarmed, Carthaginians and Tarentines alike. Many even of the Bruttians were killed, either through mistake, or through the inveterate hatred borne towards them by the Romans, or with design to discountenance the report of the place being betrayed, and that it might rather appear to have been taken by force of arms. After this carnage, the victors proceeded in several parties to plunder the city. We are told that there were here thirty thousand persons in a state of servitude, a vast quantity of silver wrought and coined, eighty-seven thousand pounds weight of gold, together with statues and pictures in such numbers, as almost to rival the decorations of Syracuse. But Fabius, with more greatness of mind than was shown by Marcellus, refrained from meddling with booty of that sort; and when his secretary asked him what he would have done with the statues of their gods, which were of gigantic size, and habited like warriors, he ordered him to 'let the Tarentines keep their angry gods to themselves.' Then the wall, which separated the citadel from the town, was demolished and rased. Amid these transactions Hannibal, having made prisoners the party employed in the siege of Caulon, who capitulated, hearing of the siege of Tarentum, marched night and day with all expedition to relieve it: but while he was hastening thither, he received the news of its being taken. On this he observed, 'the Romans, too, have their Hannibal: we

have lost Tarentum through the same arts by which we acquired it.' That he might not, however, seem to have turned back as in flight, he encamped on the spot where he had halted, about five miles from the city; and, after staying there a few days, retreated to Metapontum. From hence he sent to Tarentum two Metapontines, with letters from the principal men in that state to Fabius, to receive his promise of impunity for what was past, on condition of their delivering Metapontum and the Carthaginian garrison into his hands. Fabius, supposing the offer to be made with sincerity, appointed a day on which he would come to Metapontum, and gave letters in answer, which were delivered to Hannibal, who, overjoyed at the success of his stratagem, and at finding that even Fabius was not proof against artifice, formed an ambuscade at a small distance from Metapontum. As Fabius was taking the auspices, previous to his departure from Tarentum, the birds repeatedly refused the favorable signs; also, when he consulted the gods by sacrifice, the aruspex warned him to beware of treachery and plots. As he did not come on the appointed day, the two Metapontines were sent back, to remove any scruple that retarded him, but being suddenly seized, and dreading an examination by torture, they disclosed the whole plot.

17. In Spain, in the beginning of the summer, there came over to Scipio, who had spent all the preceding winter in conciliating the affections of the barbarians, partly by presents, and partly by sending home their hostages and prisoners, a person named Edesco, a distinguished commander among the Spaniards. This man's wife and children were in the hands of the Romans; but, besides this motive, he was also actuated by that almost unaccountable propensity which had brought over all Spain from the Carthaginian interest to that of the Romans. Led by the same motive, Indibilis and Mandonius, unquestionably the two first men in Spain, with the whole body of their countrymen, deserted Hasdrubal, and withdrew to an emi-

nence overlooking his camp, from whence, along a continued ridge of hills, they could retire with safety to the Romans. When Hasdrubal saw the enemy's strength increasing by such large accessions, while his own was daily diminished, and would probably, unless by a bold effort he effected something, continue to decay, in the same manner as it had begun, he resolved to bring on a battle as soon as possible. Scipio was even more desirous of an engagement; as well because his hopes were strong, in consequence of the success which had hitherto attended his affairs, as because he wished to engage with a single general and his forces, rather than with all together, which he would perhaps be forced to do were they to unite. However, should he be under a necessity of fighting more than one army at once, he had taken a judicious method to augment his strength: for, perceiving that there would be no employment for his marine, as the coast of Spain was intirely clear of any Carthaginian fleet, he hauled up the ships on land at Tarraco, and joined the marines to his land forces. As to arms for them, he had abundance, between those taken at Carthage, and those which had been afterwards made by the great number of workmen whom he employed. With this force Scipio, in the beginning of spring, by which time he was rejoined by Lælius, who had returned from Rome, and without whom he undertook no enterprize of any extraordinary moment, set out from Tarraco, and advanced towards the enemy. On his march, during which he found every place well affected, the allies showing him all respect, and escorting him as he passed through each of their states, he was met by Indibilis and Mandonius, with their armies. Indibilis spoke for both, not with the ignorance and temerity of a barbarian, but with a modest gravity, appearing rather to apologise for their changing sides, as a measure of necessity, than to boast of it, as if it had been greedily embraced on the first opportunity; for 'he knew,' he said, 'that the term deserter was deemed dishonorable by a man's old associates, and held in suspicion by the

new : nor did he blame men for this manner of thinking ; provided only that the merits of the case, and not the mere name, were made the grounds of this double aversion.' He then enumerated his services to the Carthaginian generals ; and, on the other hand, their avarice, tyranny, and ill-treatment of every kind heaped on him and his countrymen. ' For these reasons,' he said, ' his body only had, hitherto, been on their side ; his mind had long been on that side where, he believed, that respect was paid to laws divine and human. To the gods themselves people have recourse with supplications for redress, when they can no longer endure the violence and injustice of men. He intreated Scipio not to consider their conduct as deserving either punishment or reward, but to form his judgment on a trial of them from that day forward, and by that standard to estimate the recompense which they might hereafter be thought to deserve.' The Roman answered : that he would comply with their desire in every particular ; and would not consider them in the light of deserters, because they had not thought themselves bound to adhere to such an alliance, when the other party scrupled not to violate every obligation divine and human. Then their wives and children, being brought into the assembly, were restored to them, and received with tears of joy. That day they were entertained in lodgings prepared for them ; and, on the next, the terms of association were ratified, and they were dismissed to bring up their forces ; afterwards they encamped in conjunction with the Romans, until they conducted them to the spot where the enemy lay.

18. The nearest army of the Carthaginians was that commanded by Hasdrubal, which lay near the city of Bæcula. In the front of this camp he had posted advanced guards of cavalry. On these the Roman light infantry, the front rank, and those who composed the vanguard, instantly, as they arrived, and without waiting to choose ground for a camp, made an attack, and with such apparent contempt, as plainly demonstrated what degree of spirit each party possessed. The ca-

valry were driven within their works, whither they fled in confusion, pressed almost to the very gates. The action of that day having only whetted their ardor for a contest, the Romans pitched their camp. Hasdrubal, during the night, drew back his army to a hill, the summit of which was spread out into a level plain; on the rear of the hill was a river, and on the front and on either side it was encircled by a kind of steep bank: at some distance below this lay another plain, sloping downwards, the circumference of which was likewise bounded by another bank of equally difficult ascent. Into this lower plain Hasdrubal, next day, on seeing the enemy's line formed in front of their camp, sent down his Numidian cavalry and the light-armed Balearians and Africans. Scipio, riding round the companies and battalions, desired them to observe that 'the enemy, renouncing at once all hopes of being able to oppose them on plain ground, endeavored to secure themselves on hills; waiting within sight, and confiding in the strength of their posts, not in their valor and their arms. But Roman soldiers had mounted the higher defences of Carthage. Neither hills, nor a citadel, nor the sea itself, had stopped the progress of their arms. Those heights which the enemy had seized would answer no other purpose than that of compelling them, in their flight, to leap down crags and precipices; but he would prevent their escaping even in that way.' Accordingly he gave orders to two cohorts, that one of them should secure the entrance of the valley through which the river ran; and that the other should block up the road, which led from the city into the country, across the declivity of the hill. He then put himself at the head of the light troops, which had the day before beaten the enemy's advanced guards, and led them against the light-armed forces posted on the brink of the lower descent. For some time they proceeded over rough ground, without meeting any other obstacle than the difficulty of the way; afterwards, when they came within reach, vast quantities of weapons of every sort were poured down on

them; while, on their side, not only the soldiers, but a multitude of servants mixed among the troops, assailed the enemy with stones, which they found every where scattered, and which, in general, were of such a size as that they could be thrown by the hand. But though the ascent was difficult, and they were almost overwhelmed with darts and stones, yet, through the skill which they had acquired by practice in climbing walls, and the obstinacy of their courage, the foremost gained the summit. When they got on ground that was any way level, and where they could stand with firm footing, they soon beat back the enemy; who, though light and fit for skirmishing, and able enough to defend themselves at a distance, while an uncertain kind of fight was waged with missive weapons, yet, when the matter came to close fighting, were quite deficient in steadiness; so that they were driven with great slaughter into the line of troops posted on the higher eminence. On this Scipio, ordering the conquerors to press forward against their centre, divided the rest of the forces with Lælius, whom he ordered to go round the hill to the right, until he should find a gentler ascent, while he himself, making a small circuit to the left, charged the enemy in flank. This at once threw their line into disorder, though they attempted to change the position of their wings, and to face about their ranks towards the several shouts which assailed their ears from every quarter. During this confusion Lælius also came up, and the enemy by retreating, through fear of being wounded from behind, broke their front line, and left an opening for the Roman centre, who never could have made their way up against ground so disadvantageous, had the ranks remained intire, and the elephants kept their posts in the front of the battalions. While numbers were slain in every quarter Scipio, who with his left wing had charged the right of the enemy, continued the attack with the greatest fury against their naked flank. And now the Carthaginians had not even a passage open for flight, for the Roman detachments had taken pos-

session of the roads both on the right and left ; add to this that their commander and principal-officers, in endeavoring to make their escape, filled up the gate of the camp, while the disorderly rout of the frightened elephants were as terrible to them as were the enemy. There were slain, therefore, not less than eight thousand men.

19. Hasdrubal had, before the battle, hastily sent off his treasure ; and now, forwarding the elephants, he collected the flying troops, directing his course along the river Tagus towards the Pyrenees. Scipio took possession of the Carthaginian camp ; and having bestowed on the soldiers all the booty, except the persons of free condition, he found, on taking an account of the prisoners, ten thousand foot and two thousand horse. Of these he sent home all the Spaniards without ransom, the Africans he ordered the questor to sell. On this the multitude of Spaniards who stood around, both those who had formerly surrendered, and those taken the day before, unanimously saluted him by the title of king. But Scipio, ordering the crier to command silence, told them, that ' to him the highest title was that of general, which his soldiers had conferred on him : that the title of king, in other places highly respected, was at Rome deemed odious. They might, indeed, within their own breasts, judge of him as possessing the spirit of a king, if they deemed that the most honorable perfection in a human mind, but they must refrain from the application of the name.' Even these barbarians were sensibly affected by the greatness of his mind, that could look down contemptuously on a title which, from the rest of mankind, attracts wonder and admiration. He then distributed presents among the petty princes and chieftains of the Spaniards, desiring Indibilis to choose, out of the great number of horses taken, three hundred, such as he liked. While the questor, in pursuance of the general's order, was selling off the Africans, he observed among them a boy of extraordinary beauty ; and, hearing that he was of royal blood, he sent him to Scipio.

Scipio, asking him 'who, and of what country he was; and why, at that early age, he had been found in a camp?' he told him that 'he was a Numidian, called by his countrymen Massiva; that being left an orphan, by the death of his father, he was educated in the family of his maternal grandfather, Gala, king of Numidia: that he had come over into Spain with his uncle Masinissa, who had lately brought a body of cavalry to the assistance of the Carthaginians: that he had never before been in a battle, having been prohibited by Masinissa on account of his youth; but that, on the day of the engagement with the Romans, he had privately taken a horse and arms, and, unknown to his uncle, gone out into the field, whereby his horse falling he was thrown to the ground, and made a prisoner by the Romans.' Scipio, ordering the boy to be taken care of, finished what business was to be done at the tribunal; then, retiring into his pavilion, he called the youth, and asked him whether he wished to return to Masinissa? To which the other, his eyes suffused with tears of joy, replied, that above all things it was what he wished. He then gave as presents to him a gold ring, a vest with a broad purple border, a Spanish cloak with a golden clasp, likewise a horse fully accoutred; and, ordering a party of horsemen to escort him as far as he chose, sent him away.

20. He then held a council, to settle a plan of operations; when many advised him, without delay, to go in pursuit of Hasdrubal: but such a step he thought too hazardous, lest Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, and Mago, should unite their forces with those of that commander. Contenting himself therefore with sending some troops to occupy the passes of the Pyrenees, he passed the remainder of the summer in receiving the submissions of the Spanish states. Not many days after the battle fought at Bæcula, when Scipio, on his return to Tarraco, had just got clear of the pass of Castulo, the two generals, from the Farther Spain, Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, and Mago, joined Hasdrubal—a reinforcement too late, the battle being lost; but their coming was

very seasonable in another respect, as it gave him the assistance of their counsel, respecting the measures to be taken for the farther prosecution of the war. On this occasion, when they compared accounts of the dispositions of the Spaniards in each of their several provinces, Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, alone, made a favorable report; giving his opinion, that the remote track of Spain, which lies on the ocean and about Gades, was, as yet, unacquainted with the Romans, and therefore sufficiently well affected to the Carthaginians. The other Hasdrubal and Mago agreed in pronouncing that 'the affections of all, both in their public and private capacities, were attached to Scipio by the kind treatment which he gave them; and that there would be no end of desertions, until all the Spanish soldiers were either removed into the remotest parts of Spain, or carried away into Gaul. Therefore, though the Carthaginian senate had passed no order for the purpose, yet it was necessary that Hasdrubal should go into Italy, where the principal stress of the war lay, and where the final decision of it must be expected; in order, at the same time, to carry away all the Spanish soldiers out of Spain, and out of the way of hearing the name of Scipio: that the Carthaginian army, being greatly reduced, as well by desertions as by the late unfortunate battle, should be filled up with Spanish recruits: that Mago, giving up his forces to Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, should go over in person to the Balearic islands, with a large sum of money, to hire auxiliaries: that Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, should, with the remainder, retire into Lusitania, and by no means come to an engagement with the Romans: that out of all their effective horsemen a body of three thousand cavalry should be made up for Masinissa, to make excursions through what they called Hither Spain, succor their allies, and carry depredations through the towns and lands of the enemy.' Having determined on these measures, the commanders separated, to put their resolves in execution. Such were the transactions of this year in Spain. At Rome, the reputation of Scipio

rose higher every day. The taking of Tarentum, though effected by artifice rather than by courage, yet gave some degree of glory to Fabius. The lustre of Fulvius' character began to fade. Marcellus was even spoken of with displeasure, because, besides the failure in his first battle, he had in the middle of summer, while Hannibal was carrying his excursions through various parts of Italy, drawn off his army to Venusia, to lodge them in houses. He had a bitter enemy in Caius Publius Bibulus, a plebeian tribune: this man, ever since the battle which proved unfortunate, had, in frequent harangues, represented Claudius in a dishonorable light, endeavoring to render him odious to the commons; and he now proposed to deprive him of the command. The friends of Claudius nevertheless procured an order that Marcellus, leaving at Venusia a lieutenant-general, should come home to Rome, to clear himself of those charges, on which his enemies founded the resolutions which they proposed; and that, during his absence, no step should be taken towards divesting him of the command. It so happened that Marcellus came to Rome to rescue his character from disgrace, and the consul Quintus Fulvius to hold the elections at the same time.

21. The business respecting Marcellus' commission was debated in the Flaminian circus, amidst a vast concourse of plebeians, and people of all ranks. The tribune of the commons brought forward heavy charges, not only against Marcellus, but against the whole body of the nobles. 'To their treacherous and dilatory conduct,' he said, 'it was owing, that Hannibal now held possession of Italy, as his province, for the tenth year, and passed more of his life there than in Carthage. The Roman people now enjoyed the fruits of continuing Marcellus in command: his army, after being twice routed, was spending the summer at Venusia, and dwelling in houses instead of the camp.' These and such like invectives of the tribune, Marcellus so thoroughly refuted, by a recital of the services which he had performed, that not only the question concerning

the annulling of his commission was negatived, but, on the day following, every one of the centuries, with the greatest unanimity, concurred in electing him consul. The colleague joined with him was Titus Quintius Crispinus, then a pretor. Next day were elected pretors, Publius Licinius Crassus Dives, then chief pontiff, Publius Licinius Varus, Sextus Julius Cæsar, Quintus Claudius, flamen. During the very time of the elections the public were much disturbed with apprehensions of a revolt in Etruria. That some scheme of that kind had been set on foot by the Arretians was asserted in a letter of Caius Calpurnius, who, in the character of propretor, held the government of that province. Wherefore Marcellus, consul elect, was immediately despatched thither, with orders to inquire into the affair; and, if he should see occasion, to send for his army, and remove the war from Apulia to Etruria. The fear of this gave the Etrurians such a check as kept them quiet. Ambassadors from the Tarentines came to solicit a treaty of peace, requesting that they might be allowed to live in freedom under their own laws; but the senate desired them to come again, when the consul Fabius would have returned to Rome. Both the Roman and plebeian games were this year repeated for one day. The curule ediles were Lucius Cornelius Caudinus, and Servius Sulpicius Galba; the plebeian, Caius Servilius and Quintus Cæcilius Metellus. Many people insisted that Servilius could not legally have held the office of tribune, nor could now hold that of edile, because it was well known that his father, who, for ten years, was supposed to have been killed by the Boians near Mutina, when triumvir for the distribution of lands, was still living, and in the hands of the enemy.

22. In the eleventh year of the Punic war commenced the consulate of Marcus Marcellus, a fifth time, (reckoning the consulship, which, because of an irregularity in the election, he did not hold,) and Titus Quintius Crispinus. It was decreed that both the consuls should be employed in Italy, as their province; and

that out of the two consular armies of the preceding year, with a third, which was at Venusia, and had been under the command of Marcellus, the consuls were to choose whatever two they liked; and the third was to be assigned to the commander, to whose lot the province of Tarentum and Salentum should fall. The other provinces were distributed in this manner: with regard to the pretors, the city jurisdiction was assigned to Publius Licinius Varus; the foreign, with such other employment as the senate should direct, to Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff; Sicily to Sextus Julius Cæsar, and Tarentum to Quintus Claudius, flamen. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was continued in command for the year, and ordered with one legion to hold the government of the province of Capua, which had been held by Titus Quintius, when pretor. Caius Hostilius Tubulus was likewise continued, that, as propretor, he might succeed Caius Calpurnius in the command of the two legions in Etruria; and Lucius Veturius Philo was continued, that he might, in quality of propretor, retain the government of his present province of Gaul, with the same two legions which he had there when pretor. With regard to Caius Aurunculeius, who, in his pretorship, had, with two legions, held the government of the province of Sardinia, the senate passed a decree in the same terms with that respecting Lucius Veturius, but, for the defence of that province, an additional force was assigned him of fifty ships of war, which Scipio was to send from Spain. The business of continuing all these officers in command was laid before an assembly of the people. To Publius Scipio and Marcus Silanus, their present province of Spain, and the armies at present with them, were decreed for the year. An order was sent to Scipio that, out of eighty ships which he then had—some brought with him from Italy, some taken at Carthage—he should send fifty over to Sardinia; because a report prevailed that great naval preparations were going on at Carthage, where the intention was to overspread the whole coasts of Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia, with a fleet

of two hundred sail. The business of Sicily was divided thus: the troops of Cannæ were given to Sextus Cæsar; Marcus Valerius Lævinus (for he also was continued in authority) was to have the fleet of seventy ships, which lay on the coast of that island. To these were joined the thirty ships which had been at Tarentum the year before; and with this fleet of one hundred sail, if he thought proper, he was to pass over and make depredations on Africa. Publius Sulpicius, also, was continued in command for the year, that he might hold the province of Macedonia and Greece with the same fleet which he had before. With respect to the two legions which remained in the city of Rome, no alteration was made. Leave was given for the consuls to raise recruits, to complete the troops wherein there was any deficiency of numbers. Twenty-one legions were employed this year in the service of the Roman empire. A charge was given to Publius Licinius Varus, city pretor, to repair thirty old ships of war, which lay at Ostia, and to furnish twenty new ones, with their full complement of men, that he might have a fleet of fifty sail to guard the sea coasts in the neighborhood of Rome. Caius Calpurnius was forbidden to remove his army from Arretium before the arrival of his successor. Both he and Tubero were ordered to be particularly watchful on that side, lest any new schemes might be formed.

23. The pretors went to the provinces, but the consuls were detained by business respecting religion; for they could not readily effect the expiation of several prodigies which had been reported. From Campania accounts were brought that two temples at Capua, those of Fortune and Mars, and several tombs, were struck by lightning; and at Cumæ, mice gnawed some gold in the temple of Jupiter; so apt is superstitious weakness to introduce the deities into the most trivial occurrences; that at Casinum, a very large swarm of bees settled in the forum; at Ostia, a wall and gate were struck by lightning; at Cære, a vulture flew into the temple of Jupiter; and that at Vulsinii

blood flowed from a lake. On account of these portents there was a supplication performed of one day's continuance. During many successive ones, sacrifices were offered of victims of the larger kinds, and yet no favorable omens appeared, nor, for a long time, was there any indication of the gods becoming propitious. The baneful events, thus foreboded, affected not immediately the safety of the state, but fell on the persons of the consuls. The Apollinarian games had been first celebrated by the city pretor, Cornelius Sulla, in the consulate of Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius; and, thenceforward, all the city pretors in succession had performed them; but they vowed them only for one year, and fixed no particular day for their observance. This year a grievous epidemic disorder fell both on the city and country: however, the sickness was rather tedious than mortal. On account of this malady, a supplication was performed in all the streets of Rome, the city pretor, Publius Licinius Varus, being at the same time ordered to propose to the people to enact a law, that a vow should be made for the perpetual celebration of those games on a stated day. Accordingly he himself first engaged for it, holding the games on the third day of the nones of July, which day has ever since been observed as an anniversary festival.

24. The rumors concerning the Arretians grew every day more and more alarming, and greatly increased the anxiety of the senate; wherefore orders were despatched to Caius Hostilius, not to defer taking hostages from that people; and Caius Terentius Varro was sent with a commission to receive them from him, and conduct them to Rome. On his arrival, Hostilius immediately ordered one legion, which was encamped before the gates, to march into the city; and then, having posted guards in proper places, he summoned the senate to attend him in the forum, and make a demand of hostages. The senate requested two days' time to consider the matter; but he insisted that they should give them instantly, or he would next

day take all the children of the senators. He then directed all the military tribunes, prefects of the allies, and centurions, to guard the gates carefully, that no one might go out of the city in the night. This was not performed with proper care and diligence; for, before the guards were posted at the gates, or night came on, seven principal senators made their escape with their children. At the first light, on the day following, the senate being summoned into the forum, they were missed, and their property was sold. From the rest of the senators one hundred and twenty hostages were received, who were their own children, and they were delivered to Caius Terentius to be conducted to Rome. He represented every thing to the senate in such a light as greatly increased their suspicions; wherefore, as if the hostile intentions of the Etrurians were no longer to be doubted, an order was given to Caius Terentius himself to lead one of the city legions to Arretium, and to keep it there, as a garrison to the city. It was at the same time determined that Caius Hostilius, with the rest of the troops, should make a circuit through the whole province; that those who wished to excite disturbances might have no opportunity of putting their designs in execution. When Caius Terentius, with the legion, arrived at Arretium, and demanded from the magistrates the keys of the gates, they told him that they were not to be found; but he believing rather that they had been put out of the way through some evil design, than lost through negligence, put on new locks, making use of every precaution to keep all things under his own power. He earnestly cautioned Hostilius not to expect to retain the Etrurians in quiet by any other means than by putting it out of their power to stir.

25. About this time the business of the Tarentines occasioned a warm debate in the senate, where Fabius was present, exerting himself in favor of those whom he had subdued by arms, while others spoke of them with much asperity, charging them as equal in guilt, and deserving equal punishment with the Campanians.

The senate resolved, conformably to the opinion of Manius Acilius, that the town should be secured by a garrison, and all the Tarentines confined within the walls, and that the business should be taken under consideration at a future time, and when Italy should be in a state of greater tranquillity. The case of Marcus Livius, governor of the citadel of Tarentum, was also debated with no less warmth: some advised to pass a vote of censure on him, because that, in consequence of his indolence, Tarentum had been betrayed to the enemy; while others thought him deserving of reward, for having defended the citadel for five years, and for having, singly, been the principal cause of the recovery of Tarentum. Moderate people affirmed that the cognisance of his conduct belonged to the censors, not to the senate; and of this opinion was Fabius; nevertheless adding—‘Livius was, no doubt, the cause of Tarentum being recovered, as his friends have so often boasted in the senate; but it should be borne in mind that it could not have been recovered if it had not been lost.’ The consul, Titus Quintius Crispinus, marched with a reinforcement into Lucania, to join the army formerly commanded by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus. Marcellus was detained by several obstacles respecting religion, which occurred in quick succession to disturb his mind: one of which was, that, having in the battle with the Gauls at Clastidium vowed a temple to Honor and Virtue, he had been hindered by the pontiffs from dedicating it, for they insisted that one shrine could not with propriety be consecrated to more than one deity; because, if it should be struck with lightning, or any kind of prodigy happen in it, the expiation would be difficult, as it could not be determined to which of the deities sacrifice ought to be made; for one victim could not, properly, be offered to two divinities, unless they were known to be two to whom such victim must be acceptable. Wherefore a separate temple was erected to Virtue, and the work pushed forward with haste: nevertheless these temples were not dedicated by him.

At length he set out, with a number of recruits, to join the army, which he had left the year before at Venusia. Crispinus, observing the great degree of fame which the taking of Tarentum had procured to Marcellus, prepared to lay siege to Locri in Bruttium, sending to Sicily for engines and machines of all sorts, and calling over a fleet from thence, to attack that quarter of the city which stretched down to the sea. But he laid aside his design of the siege, because Hannibal had advanced to Licinium: he heard, too, that his colleague had led out his army from Venusia, which made him wish to unite their forces. Crispinus therefore withdrew from Bruttium into Apulia, and the two consuls sat down in separate camps, distant from each other less than three miles, between Venusia and Bantia. Hannibal also returned into the same country, as soon as he had saved Locri from a siege. And now the consuls, being both impatient for action, offered battle almost every day; not doubting but that, if the enemy would hazard an engagement with the two consular armies united, they might effectually put an end to the war.

26. As Hannibal, of the two battles which he had fought with Marcellus the year before, had gained one and lost the other, he might now, in case of an engagement with the same antagonist, find reasonable grounds both of hope and fear; but he could, by no means, believe himself equal to a contest with the two consuls together. Applying himself, therefore, wholly to his old artifices, he watched an opportunity for an ambuscade. However, several skirmishes were fought between the camps with various success, and the consuls began to think that the summer might be spun out in this manner. They were of opinion, however, that the siege of Locri might, nevertheless, be prosecuted; and they wrote to Lucius Cincius to come over with the fleet from Sicily to that place; and to carry on the siege on the land side, they ordered half the troops in garrison at Tarentum to march thither. Hannibal, having received previous intimation from some Thu-

rians of these intended measures, sent a party to lie in ambush on the road from Tarentum. There, under the hill of Petellia, three thousand horsemen and two thousand foot were placed in concealment; and the Romans marching carelessly, without having examined the road, fell into the snare, where no less than two thousand soldiers were killed, and about twelve hundred taken prisoners: the rest flying different ways, through the fields and woods, returned to Tarentum. Between the Roman and Carthaginian camps stood a hill, interspersed with trees, which neither party at first had occupied, because the Romans knew not the nature of the ground on the side which faced the camp of the enemy, and Hannibal had judged it to be better fitted for an ambush than for a camp: accordingly he sent thither for the purpose a strong detachment of Numidians, whom he concealed in the middle of a thicket; not one of whom stirred from his post in the day, lest either their arms or themselves might be observed from a distance. There ran a general murmur through the Roman camp, that this hill ought to be seized and secured by a fort, lest, if Hannibal should get possession of it, they should have the enemy, as it were, over their heads. The observation struck Marcellus, and he said to his colleague, 'Why not go ourselves with a few horsemen, and take a view of the place? After examining the matter with our own eyes, we shall be able to judge with more certainty.' Crispinus assenting, they proceeded to the spot, attended by two hundred and twenty horsemen, of whom forty were Fregellans, the rest Etrurians: they were accompanied by two military tribunes, Marcus Marcellus, the consul's son, and Aulus Manlius, and by two prefects of the allies, Lucius Arennius and Marcus Aulius. Some writers have recorded that the consul Marcellus offered sacrifice on that day, and that on the first victim being slain, the liver was found without its head; in the second, all the usual parts appeared, but there was a swelling observed on the head of the liver; the aruspex also observing, that in the second

case, the entrails, being imperfect and foul, offered no very happy presages.

27. But the consul Marcellus was possessed with such a passionate desire for a trial of strength with Hannibal, that he never thought his own camp close enough to his; and on this occasion, as he was passing the rampart, he left directions that every soldier should be ready in his place, in order that, if the hill which they were going to examine, should be approved of, the whole might strike their tents, and follow them thither. In front of the camp was a small plain, and the road, leading thence to the hill, was open on all sides, and exposed to view. A watchman whom the Numidians had posted, not in expectation of an opportunity so important as this, but with the hope of cutting off any party that might straggle too far in search of wood or forage, gave them the signal to rise at once from their concealments. Those who were to come forth from the summit and meet the enemy in front did not show themselves until the others, who were to inclose them on the rear, had got round. Then all sprung forward from every side, and raising a shout, made a furious onset. Though the consuls were so situated in the valley that they could neither force their way up the hill, which was occupied by the enemy, nor, surrounded as they were, effect a retreat, the dispute might nevertheless have been protracted for a longer time, had not the Etrurians began to fly, and thereby filled the rest with dismay. However, the Fregellans, though abandoned by the Etrurians, did not give up the contest, as long as the consuls remained unhurt; who, by their exhortations, and their own personal exertions, supported the spirit of the fight; but, afterwards, seeing both the consuls wounded, and Marcellus pierced through with a lance, and falling lifeless from his horse, then the few betook themselves to flight, carrying with them Crispinus, who had received two wounds from javelins, and young Marcellus, who was also hurt. One of the military tribunes, Aulus Manlius, was slain: of the two prefects of the

allies, Marcus Aulus was killed, and Lucius Arennius taken: of the lictors of the consuls five fell alive into the enemy's hands; of the rest, some were slain, the others fled with the consul. Forty-three horsemen fell in the fight and pursuit, and eighteen were made prisoners. The troops in camp had taken the alarm, and were going to succor the consuls, when they saw one consul, and the other consul's son, both wounded, and the small remains of the unfortunate party on their return. The death of Marcellus, unhappy in other respects, was no less so in this, that by conduct, ill becoming either his age (for he was now above sixty years old), or the prudence of a veteran commander, he had so improvidently precipitated himself, his colleague, and, in some measure, the whole commonwealth, into such desperate hazard. I should engage in too many and too long discussions on a single event, if I were to recite all the various relations given by different writers of the death of Marcellus. To omit other authors, Lucius Cælius presents us with three different narratives of that occurrence; one received by tradition: another written and contained in the funeral panegyric, delivered by his son, who was present in the action; and a third, which he produces as the real state of the fact, discovered by his own inquiries. But how much soever reports vary, most of them, notwithstanding, concur in stating that he went out of his camp to view the ground, and all, that he was slain in an ambuscade.

28. Hannibal, supposing that the enemy must be greatly dismayed by the death of one of their consuls, and the wounds of the other, and wishing not to lose any advantage which a juncture so favorable might afford, removed his camp immediately to the hill on which the battle had been fought. Here he found the body of Marcellus, and interred it. Crispinus, disheartened by his colleague's death and his own wounds, decamped in the silence of the following night, and on the nearest mountains that he could reach, pitched his camp in an elevated spot, secure on all sides. On

this occasion, the two commanders displayed great sagacity in their proceedings, while one endeavored to effect, the other to guard against deception. Hannibal had, with Marcellus' body, gotten possession of his ring, and Crispinus, fearing lest mistakes occasioned by means of this signet might give room to the Carthaginian for practising some of his wiles, sent expresses round to all the neighboring states to inform them that 'his colleague had been slain, that the enemy was in possession of his ring, and that they should, therefore, give no credit to any letters written in the name of Marcellus.' This message from the consul had but just arrived at Salapia, when a letter was brought thither from Hannibal, written in the name of Marcellus, intimating that 'he would come to Salapia on the night which was to follow that day; and directing that the soldiers of the garrison should be ready in case he should have occasion to employ them.' The Salapians were aware of the fraud; and judging that Hannibal, whom they had incensed, not only by their defection from his party, but by killing his horsemen, was seeking an opportunity for revenge, sent back his messenger, who was a Roman deserter, in order that the soldiers might act, as should be thought proper, without being watched by him; they then placed parties of the townsmen on guard along the walls, and in the convenient parts of the city, forming the guards and watches for that night with more than ordinary care. On each side of the gate through which they expected the enemy to come they placed the main strength of the garrison. About the fourth watch Hannibal approached the city: his vanguard was composed of Roman deserters, armed also in the Roman fashion. These, when they came to the gate, as they all spoke the Latin language, called up the watchmen, and ordered them to open the gate, for the consul was at hand. The watchmen, as if awakened by their call, were all in a hurry and bustle, striving to open the gate which had been shut by letting down the portcullis: some raised this with levers, others pulled it

with ropes to such a height, that men might come in without stooping. Scarcely was the passage sufficiently opened, when the deserters rushed in eagerly through the gate; and, when about six hundred had entered, the rope by which it was kept suspended being loosened, the portcullis fell down with a great noise. Part of the Salapians now attacked the deserters, who, as if among friends, carried their arms carelessly on their shoulders, as on a march; while the rest, from the tower adjoining the gate and from the walls, beat off the enemy with stones, and pikes, and javelins. Thus Hannibal, ensnared by an artifice worthy of himself, was obliged to retire, and went thence to raise the siege of Locri, which Cincius was pushing forward with the utmost vigor, having constructed various works, and being supplied with engines of every kind from Sicily. Mago, who almost despaired of being able to hold out and maintain the defence of the city, received the first gleam of returning hope from the news of Marcellus' death. This was soon followed by an express, acquainting him that Hannibal, having sent forward the Numidian cavalry, was hastening after, at the head of the main body of infantry, with all the speed he could make. As soon, therefore, as he understood, by signals made from the watch-towers, that the Numidians were drawing nigh, he with his own forces, suddenly throwing open a gate, rushed out furiously on the besiegers. The suddenness of his attack, rather than inequality of strength, at first made the dispute doubtful; but afterwards, when the Numidians came up, the Romans were struck with such dismay, that they fled in confusion towards the sea and their ships, leaving behind their works and machines which they used in battering the walls. In this manner did the approach of Hannibal raise the siege of Locri.

29. When Crispinus learned that Hannibal had gone into Bruttium, he ordered Marcus Marcellus, military tribune, to lead away to Venusia the army which had been under the command of his colleague; and he

himself, with his own legions, set out for Capua, being scarcely able to endure the motion of a litter, his wounds were so very painful. But he first despatched a letter to Rome, with an account of Marcellus' death, and of his own dangerous situation. 'It was not in his power,' he said, 'to go to Rome to attend the elections, because he was sure he should not be able to bear the fatigue of the journey; and besides, that he was uneasy about Tarentum, lest Hannibal might march thither from Bruttium. It was therefore necessary that some persons should be commissioned to come to him in his quarters, men of prudence, to whom he could with freedom speak his thoughts on the present state of affairs.' The reading of this letter caused great sorrow for the death of one consul, and apprehensions for the safety of the other. The senate therefore sent Quintus Fabius the younger to Venusia, to take the command of the army there; and deputed three persons to wait on the consul, Sextus Julius Caesar, Lucius Licinius Pollio, and Lucius Cincius Alimentus, who had a few days before come home from Sicily. These were ordered to deliver a message to the consul, that if he could not come himself to Rome, to hold the elections, he would, within the Roman territories, nominate a dictator for that purpose; and directions were given, that in case the consul should have gone to Tarentum, then Quintus Claudius, the pretor, should lead the army from its present quarters into that part of the country where he could afford protection to the greatest number of the cities of the allies. In the course of this summer Marcus Valerius passed from Sicily to Africa with a fleet of one hundred sail; and, making a descent near the city of Clupea, ravaged the country to a great extent, meeting scarcely any one in arms. After which, the troops employed in these depredations made a hasty retreat to their ships, in consequence of a sudden report that the Carthaginian fleet was approaching. This fleet consisted of eighty-three ships, with which the Roman commander came to an engagement not far from Clupea, and gained a com-

plete victory. After taking eighteen ships, and dispersing the rest, he returned to Lilybæum with abundance of booty, acquired both on land and sea.

30. Philip, during this summer, brought assistance to the Achæans, in compliance with their earnest intreaties; for, on one side, Machanidas, tyrant of the Lacedæmonians, harassed them continually by irruptions from his territories, which lay contiguous to theirs; and on another the Ætolians, transporting an army in ships through the strait which runs between Naupactus and Patræ, called by the neighboring inhabitants Rhios, had spread devastations through the country. A report also prevailed that Attalus, king of Asia, intended to come over into Europe, because the Ætolians, in their last general council, had constituted him chief magistrate of their state. While Philip was, for all these reasons, marching down into Greece, he was met at the city of Lamia by the Ætolians, under the command of Pyrrhias, who had been created pretor for that year, conjointly with Attalus, on account of the latter's absence. Besides their own forces they had a body of auxiliaries sent by Attalus, and about one thousand men from the Roman fleet of Publius Sulpicius. Against this commander, and these forces, Philip fought twice with success; and, in each battle, slew at least one thousand. The Ætolians being so greatly dismayed as to keep themselves close under the walls of Lamia, Philip led back his army to Phalara. This place, being situated on the Malian bay, was formerly thickly inhabited, on account of its excellent harbor, the safe anchorage on either side, with other commodious circumstances, to which both the sea and the land contributed. Hither came ambassadors from Ptolemy, king of Egypt, the Rhodians, Athenians, and Chians, with intent to compose the differences between Philip and the Ætolians. The Ætolians also invited a mediator from among their neighbors, Amynder, king of Athamania. But the concern of all was engaged, not so much by their regard for the Ætolians, who were remarkable for an arro-

gance unbecoming a Grecian state, as by their wishes to prevent Philip from interfering in any of the affairs of Greece; an interference which would be highly dangerous to the general liberty. The deliberations concerning a pacification were adjourned to the meeting of the council of the Achæans, and a certain time and place were fixed for that assembly. In the mean time a truce for thirty days was obtained. The king, proceeding thence through Thessaly and Bœotia, came to Chalcis in Eubœa, with design to exclude Attalus from the harbors and coasts, for intelligence had been received that he intended to come to Eubœa with a fleet. Afterwards, leaving there a body of troops to oppose Attalus, in case he should happen to arrive in the mean time, and setting out himself with a few horsemen and light infantry, he came to Argos. Here the superintendence of the games of Hærean Juno and Nemæan Hercules being conferred on him by the suffrages of the people, because the kings of the Macedonians affect to derive the origin of their family from that city, he performed those in honor of Juno; and, as soon as they were finished, went off instantly to Ægium, to the council summoned some time before. In this assembly several schemes were proposed for putting an end to the Ætolian war, that neither the Romans nor Attalus might have any pretence for entering Greece. But every measure of the kind was defeated at once by the Ætolians, when the time of the truce had scarcely expired, on their hearing that Attalus was arrived at Ægina, and that the Roman fleet lay at Naupactus: for being called into the council of the Achæans, where were likewise present the same ambassadors who had treated of a pacification at Phalara, they at first complained of some trifling acts committed during the truce, contrary to the faith of the convention, at last declaring that the war could not be terminated on any other terms than by the Achæans giving back Pylus to the Messenians, Atintania to the Romans, and Ardyæa to Scerdilædus and Pleuratus. Philip, conceiving the utmost indignation

at the vanquished party presuming to prescribe terms to their conqueror, said, that 'in listening before to proposals of peace, or in agreeing to a truce, he had not been led by any expectation that the Ætolians would remain quiet, but by his wish to have all the confederates witnesses that the object of his pursuits was peace; of theirs, war. Thus, without any thing being effected towards an accommodation, he dismissed the assembly, left five thousand soldiers to protect the Achæans, receiving from them five ships of war, with which, added to a fleet lately sent to him from Carthage, and some vessels then on their way from Bithynia, sent by king Prusias, he had resolved, if he could effect the junction, to try his strength in a naval engagement with the Romans, who had long been masters of the sea in that part of the world. After dissolving the council he went back to Argos, because the time of the Nemæan games was approaching, and he wished to give them, by his presence, an additional degree of splendor.

31. While the king was employed in the celebration of the games, and, during that season of festivity, indulging his mind in relaxation from military operations, Publius Sulpicius, setting sail from Naupactus, arrived on the coast between Sicyon and Corinth, making violent depredations on that fine and fertile country. The news of this event called away Philip from the exhibition. He marched off with rapidity at the head of his cavalry, leaving orders for the infantry to follow; and, while the Romans were straggling at random, and heavily laden with booty, not apprehending any danger of the kind, he attacked and drove them to their ships. Thus the Roman fleet returned to Naupactus with little cause of triumph for the booty which they had taken. On the other side Philip, by the fame of a victory, whatever might be its real importance, gained however over Romans, added greatly to the lustre of the remaining part of the games; and the festival was celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings, to which he contributed also by his popular

behavior; for, laying aside his diadem, purple robe, and other royal apparel, he set himself, with respect to appearance, on a level with the rest; than which nothing can be more grateful to the people of free states. This conduct would have afforded very strong hopes of general liberty had he not debased and dishonored all by intolerable debauchery: for, night and day, with one or two attendants, he ranged through the houses of married people. He had lowered his dignity to the common level, consequently the less conspicuous he appeared the less restraint he was under; and thus the liberty of which he had given others an empty prospect, he stretched to the utmost in the gratification of his own unlawful desires. Money and seductive discourses were not always sufficient for his purposes; he even employed violence in aid of them, and dangerous was it for husbands and parents to show inflexible strictness in obstructing the brutal passions of the king. He took from Aratus (a man of distinction among the Achæans) his wife, named Polycratia; and, deluding her with the hope of being married to a sovereign prince, carried her into Macedonia. After spending the time of the celebration of the games, and several days after they were finished, in this scandalous manner, he marched to Dymæ, with design to dislodge a garrison of the Ætolians, who had been invited by the Eleans, and received into that city. At Dymæ he was joined by the Achæans, under Cycliades their chief magistrate, who were inflamed with hatred against the Eleans, because they refused to unite with the other states of Achaia, and highly incensed against the Ætolians, whom they believed to be the authors of the war carried on against them by the Romans. Leaving Dymæ, and uniting their forces, they passed the river Larissus, which separates the territory of Elis from that of Dymæ.

32. The first day on which they entered the enemy's borders they spent in plundering. On the next, they advanced to the city in order of battle, having sent forward the cavalry, to ride up to the gates, and pro-

voke the Ætolians, who were ever well inclined to embrace an opportunity of sallying out from their works. They did not know that Sulpicius, with fifteen ships, had come over from Naupactus to Cyllene, and landing four thousand soldiers, had, in the dead of night, lest his march should be observed, thrown himself into Elis. When therefore they perceived, among the Ætolians and Eleans, the Roman standards and arms, an appearance so unexpected filled them with the greatest terror. At first the king had a mind to order a retreat, but the Ætolians being already engaged with the Trallians, a tribe of Illyrians so called, and his party appearing to have the worst of the contest, he himself, at the head of his cavalry, made a charge on a Roman cohort. Here the horse of Philip, being pierced through with a spear, threw him forward over his head to the ground, which gave rise to a furious conflict between the contending parties; the Romans pressing hard on the king, and his own men protecting him. His own behavior on the occasion was remarkably brave, although he was obliged to fight on foot, among squadrons of cavalry. In a short time, the dispute becoming unequal, great numbers being killed and wounded near him, he was forced away by his soldiers, and, mounting another horse, fled from the field. He pitched his camp that day at the distance of five miles from the city of Elis; and, on the next, led all his forces to a fort called Pyrgus, where, as he had heard, a multitude of the country people with their cattle had run together through fear of being plundered. This irregular and unarmed crowd were so utterly dismayed at his approach, that he at once made himself master of the whole, and by this seizure gained compensation for whatever disgrace he had sustained at Elis. While he was distributing the spoil and prisoners, the latter amounting to four thousand men, and the cattle of all kinds to twenty thousand, news arrived from Macedonia that a person called Eropus had, by bribing the commander of the garrison and citadel, gained possession of Lychnidus; that he had

also got into his hands some towns of the Dassare-tians, and was besides endeavoring to persuade the Dardanians to take arms. In consequence of this intelligence, dropping the prosecution of the war between the Achæans and Ætolians, but leaving however two thousand five hundred soldiers, of one sort or other, under the command of Menippus and Polyphantas, to assist his allies, he marched away from Dymæ, through Achaia, Bœotia, and Eubœa, and on the tenth day arrived at Demetrias in Thessaly. Here he was met by other couriers, with accounts of still more dangerous commotions; that the Dardanians, pouring into Macedonia, had already seized on Orestis, and marched down into the plain of Argestæ, and that a report prevailed among the barbarians that Philip had been slain. This rumor was occasioned by the following circumstance:—In his expedition against the plundering parties near Sicyon, being carried by the impetuosity of his horse against a tree, a projecting branch broke off one of the side ornaments of his helmet, which being found by an Ætolian, and carried into Ætolia to Scerdilædus, who knew it to be the cognisance of the king, it was supposed that he was killed. After Philip's departure from Achaia, Sulpicius, sailing to Ægina, joined his fleet to that of Attalus. The Achæans gained the victory in a battle with the Ætolians and Eleans, fought near Messene. King Attalus and Publius Sulpicius wintered at Ægina.

33. Towards the close of this year the consul Titus Quintius Crispinus, after having nominated Titus Manlius Torquatus dictator, to preside at the elections, and solemnise the games, died of his wounds, according to some writers, at Tarentum, according to others in Campania. Thus was there a concurrence of events, such as had never been experienced in any former war, while the two consuls being slain, without having fought any memorable battle, left the commonwealth, as it were, fatherless. The dictator Manlius appointed Caius Servilius, then curule edile, his master of the horse. The senate, on the first day of its meeting,

ordered the dictator to celebrate the great games, which Marcus Æmilius, city pretor, had exhibited in the consulate of Caius Flaminius and Cneius Servilius, and had vowed to be repeated at the end of five years. Accordingly, he not only performed them now, but vowed them for the next lustrum. But as the two consular armies, without commanders, were so near the enemy, both the senate and people, laying aside all other concerns, made it their chief and only care to have consuls elected as soon as possible, and especially that they should be men whose courage was so tempered by prudence as to guard them sufficiently against Carthaginian wiles: for it was considered that, as through the whole course of the present war, the too warm and precipitate tempers of their generals had been productive of great losses, so, in that very year, the consuls, through excessive eagerness to engage the enemy, had fallen unguardedly into their snares; that the gods, however, compassionating the Roman nation, had spared the troops, who were guiltless of the fault, and had decreed that the penalty incurred by the rashness of the commanders should fall on their own heads. When the senate looked round for proper persons to be appointed to the consulship, Caius Claudius Nero at once met their view as eminently qualified beyond all others. They then sought a colleague for him. They well knew him to be a man of extraordinary abilities, but, at the same time, of a temper more sanguine and enterprising than was expedient in the present exigences of the war, or against such an opponent as Hannibal; and therefore they thought it necessary to qualify his disposition by joining with him a man of moderation and prudence.

34. Many years before this Marcus Livius, on the expiration of his consulship, had been judged guilty of misconduct by a sentence of the people; and he was so deeply affected by this disgrace that he retired into the country, and for a long time avoided not only the city, but all intercourse with mankind. About eight years afterwards Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Mar-

cus Valerius Lævinus, then consuls, brought him back into Rome; but still he appeared in a squalid dress, and suffered his hair and beard to grow, displaying in his countenance and garb a more than ordinary sensibility of the censure passed on him. When Lucius Veturius and Publius Licinius were censors, they compelled him to be shaved, to lay aside his sordid apparel, to attend the meetings of the senate, and perform other public duties. But, after all this, he used to give his vote either by a single word, or by going to the side of the house which he approved, until a trial came on in the cause of Marcus Livius Macatus, a man to whom he was related, and whose character was at stake; and this obliged him to deliver his sentiments at large in the senate. The speech which he made, after so long an interval of silence, drew on him all eyes, and became the subject of much conversation: it was asserted that 'the people had treated him with great injustice, and that the consequences of this undeserved ill-treatment had been highly injurious to that very people; as, during a war of such importance and danger, the state had been deprived both of the services and counsels of so great a man. With Caius Nero, neither Quintus Fabius nor Marcus Valerius Lævinus could be joined in office, because the law did not allow the election of two patricians. The same objection lay against Titus Manlius, besides that he had before refused the offer of the consulship, and would again refuse it. But if the election of Marcus Livius, in conjunction with Caius Nero, could be effected, then they would have such consuls as could scarcely be equalled.' Nor were the commons disinclined to the proposal, although it took its rise from the patricians. One only person in the state, the person to whom the honor was offered, objected to the measure; charging the people with levity and inconstancy, he said, that 'when he appeared before them in the situation of a defendant, in a mourning habit, they refused him their compassion; yet now they forced on him the white gown against his will, heaping

punishments and honors on the same object. If they deemed him an honest man, why had they condemned him as wicked and guilty? If they had discovered proofs of his guilt, after seeing such reason to repent of having trusted him with the consulship once, why intrust him with it a second time?' While he uttered these, and such like reproaches and complaints, he was checked by the senators, who bade him recollect that 'Camillus, though exiled by his country, yet returned at its call, and re-established it, when shaken from the very foundations; that it was the duty of a man to mollify by patience, and to bear with resignation, the severity of his country, like that of a parent.' By the united exertions of all, Marcus Livius was elected consul with Caius Claudius Nero.

35. Three days after the election of pretors was held, and there were chosen into that office Lucius Porcius Licinus, Caius Mamilius Aulus, and Caius Hostilius Cato. As soon as the elections were concluded, and the games celebrated, the dictator and master of the horse resigned their offices. Caius Terentius Varro was sent, as proprætor, into Etruria, in order that Caius Hostilius might go from that province of Tarentum to take the command of the army which had acted under the late consul, Titus Quintius; and that Titus Manlius might go beyond sea, in the character of ambassador, to observe what business was going on abroad; and also, as during that summer the Olympic games were to be exhibited, which were also attended by the greatest concourse of the people of Greece, that he might go to that assembly, if not prevented by the enemy, and inform any Sicilians whom he should find driven there, and any citizens of Tarentum, banished by Hannibal, that they might return to their homes, and might be assured that the Roman people meant to restore to them the whole of the property which they possessed before the war began. As the approaching year seemed to threaten the greatest dangers, and there were, as yet, no magistrates for the administration of public affairs,

all men directed their attention to the consuls elect, and wished them, as speedily as possible, to cast lots for their provinces, that each of them might know beforehand what province and what antagonist he was to have. Measures were also taken in the senate, on a motion made by Quintus Fabius Maximus, to reconcile them to each other; for there subsisted between them an avowed enmity, which, on the side of Livius, was the more inveterate, as, during his misfortunes, he had felt himself treated with contempt by the other. He was therefore the more obstinately implacable, and insisted, that 'there was no need of any reconciliation: for they would conduct all business with the greater diligence and activity, while each should be afraid, lest a colleague, who was his enemy, might find means of exalting his own character at the other's expense.' Nevertheless, the influence of the senate prevailed on them to lay aside their animosity, and to act with harmony and unanimity in the administration of the government. The provinces allotted to them were not, as in former years, a joint command in the same districts, but quite separate, in the remotest extremities of Italy: to one, Bruttium and Lucania, where he was to act against Hannibal; to the other, Gaul, where he was to oppose Hasdrubal, who was now said to be approaching to the Alps. It was ordered that the consul to whose lot Gaul fell should of the two armies (one of which was in Gaul, and the other in Etruria,) choose whichever he thought proper, and join to it the city legions; and that he to whom the province of Bruttium fell should, after enlisting new legions for the city, take his choice of the armies commanded by the consuls of the preceding year; and that the army left by the consul should be given to Quintus Fulvius, proconsul, and that he should continue in command for the year. To Caius Hostilius, to whom they had assigned the province of Tarentum, in exchange for Etruria, they now gave Capua instead. One legion was ordered for him,—that which Fulvius had commanded the year before.

36. The public anxiety respecting Hasdrubal's march into Italy increased daily. At first, envoys from the Massilians brought information that he had passed into Gaul, and that the inhabitants of that country were in high spirits on the occasion; because it was reported that he had brought a vast quantity of gold for the purpose of hiring auxiliaries. In company with these envoys, on their return, were sent from Rome, Sextus Antistius and Marcus Retius, to inquire into the matter; who brought back an account that they had sent persons with Massilian guides, who, by means of some Gallic chieftains, connected in friendship with the Massilians, might procure exact intelligence of every particular; and that they had discovered with certainty that Hasdrubal, having already collected a very numerous army, intended to pass the Alps in the following spring, and that nothing prevented his doing it immediately, but the passes of those mountains being shut up by the winter. Publius Ælius Pætus was elected and inaugurated into the office of augur, in the room of Marcus Marcellus; and Cneius Cornelius Dolabella into that of king in religious matters, in the room of Marcus Marcius, who had died two years before. In this year, the first time since Hannibal's coming into Italy, the lustrum was closed by the censors, Publius Sempronius Tuditanus and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. The number of citizens rated was one hundred and thirty-seven thousand one hundred and eight, a number much smaller than it had been before the war. It is recorded that in this same year the comitium was covered, and the Roman games once repeated by the curule ediles, Quintus Metellus and Caius Servilius; and the plebeian games twice, by the plebeian ediles, Quintus Mamilius and Marcus Cæcilius Metellus. These also erected three statues in the temple of Ceres, and there was a feast of Jupiter on occasion of the games. [A. U. C. 545. B. C. 207.] Then entered on the consulship Caius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius,

a second time ; and as they had already, when consuls elect, cast lots for their provinces, they now ordered the pretors to do the same. To Caius Hostilius fell the city jurisdiction, to which the foreign was added, in order that three pretors might go abroad to the provinces. To Aulus Hostilius fell Sardinia ; to Caius Mamilius, Sicily ; and to Lucius Porcius, Gaul. The whole of the legions, amounting to twenty-three, were distributed in such manner that each of the consuls should have two, Spain four, the three pretors, in Sicily, Sardinia, and Gaul, two each ; Caius Terentius, in Etruria, two ; Quintus Fulvius, in Bruttium, two ; Quintus Claudius, about Tarentum and Sallentum, two ; Caius Hostilius Tubulus, at Capua, one ; and two were ordered to be raised for the city. For the first four legions the people elected tribunes ; for the rest they were appointed by the consuls.

37. Before the consuls left home the nine days' solemnity was performed, on account of a shower of stones having fallen from the sky at Veii. The mention of one prodigy was, as usual, followed by reports of others ; that the temple of Jupiter at Minturnæ, a grove at Marica, a wall and a gate of Atella, had been struck by lightning. The people of Minturnæ said, what was still more terrifying, that a stream of blood had flowed in at one of their gates : at Capua, too, a wolf came into one of the gates, and tore the sentinel. These prodigies were expiated with victims of the greater kinds ; and a supplication of one day's continuance was ordered by the pontiffs. The nine days' solemnity was afterwards performed a second time, on account of a shower of stones seen to fall during the *armilustrum*. The people's minds were no sooner freed from religious apprehensions than they were again disturbed by an account that at Frusino an infant was born of a size equal to that of a child four years old, and wonderful, not only for its bulk, but for its sex being doubtful ; as had been the case of the one born two years before, at Sinuessa. *Aruspices*,

sent from Etruria, denounced this to be a portent particularly horrid, that ought to be exterminated from the Roman territories, and without being suffered to touch the earth, drowned in the sea. Accordingly, they shut it up alive in a chest, and threw it into the deep. The pontiffs likewise issued a mandate, that thrice nine virgins should go in procession through the city, singing a hymn. While they were employed in the temple of Jupiter Stator, learning this hymn, which was composed by the poet Livius, the temple of Imperial Juno, on the Aventine, was struck by lightning. The aruspices, having delivered their judgment that this prodigy had respect to the matrons, and that the goddess ought to be appeased by an offering, the curule ediles, by an edict, summoned together into the capitol all those matrons who had houses in the city of Rome, or within ten miles of it; and from this number they chose twenty-five, to whom they paid in a contribution out of their own effects. With this money a golden basin was made, and carried to the Aventine, where the matrons, with every demonstration of purity and sanctity, immolated to the goddess. Immediately after, the decemvirs, by proclamation, appointed a day for another sacrifice to the same divinity, which was conducted in the following order:—from the temple of Apollo, two white heifers were led into the city, through the Carmental gate; after them were carried two cypress images of imperial Juno; then followed the twenty-seven virgins clad in long robes, singing the hymn in honor of that deity. This hymn might perhaps to the uninformed judgments of those times, appear to have merit, but, if repeated at present, it would seem barbarous and uncouth. The train of virgins was followed by the decemvirs, crowned with laurel, and dressed in purple-bordered robes. From the gate they proceeded through the Jugurian street into the forum: here the procession halted, and a cord was given to the virgins, of which they all took hold, and then advanced, beating time with their feet to the music of their voices. Thus they

proceeded through the Tuscan street, the Velabrum, the cattle-market, and up the Publician hill, until they arrived at the temple of Imperial Juno. There two victims were offered in sacrifice by the decemvirs, and the cypress images were placed in the temple.

38. After due expiations were offered to the gods, the consuls began to enlist soldiers; and this business they enforced with more strictness and severity than had been formerly practised within the memory of any then living; for the new enemy, advancing towards Italy, made the war doubly formidable. As the number of young men capable of serving was considerably diminished, they resolved to compel even the maritime colonies to furnish soldiers, although they were said to enjoy, under a solemn grant, an immunity from service. At first, they refused compliance; on which the consuls published orders that each state should, on a certain day, produce before the senate the title on which it claimed such exemption. On the day appointed, the following states appeared before the senate; Ostia, Alsia, Antium, Anxur, Minturnæ, Sinuessa; and, from the coast of the upper sea, Sena. These recited their several claims; but none of them were allowed, except those of Antium and Ostia; and even in these two colonies the young men were obliged to swear that, while the enemy remained in Italy, they would not lodge out of the walls of their colonies longer than thirty days. Although it was the opinion of all, that the consuls ought to open the campaign as early as possible, as it would be necessary to oppose Hasdrubal immediately on his descent from the Alps, lest he might seduce the Cisalpine Gauls and Etruria, which latter already entertained sanguine hopes of effecting a revolt; also, that it would be necessary to give Hannibal full employment in his own quarters, lest he might extricate himself from Bruttium, and advance to meet his brother: yet Livius delayed, not being satisfied with the forces destined for his provinces, while his colleague had a choice of two excellent consular armies, and a third which Quintus Claudius commanded at Tarentum; he

therefore introduced a proposal of recalling the volunteer slaves to the standards. The senate gave the consuls unlimited power to fill up their companies with any men whom they approved; to choose out of all the armies such as they liked, and to exchange them, and remove them from one province to another, as they should judge best for the public service. In the management of all these matters, the greatest harmony prevailed between the consuls; and the volunteer slaves were inrolled in the nineteenth and twentieth legions. Some writers say that on this occasion powerful reinforcements were also sent from Spain by Publius Scipio to Marcus Livius; eight thousand Spaniards and Gauls, two thousand legionary soldiers, and a body of cavalry composed of Numidians and Spaniards, in number one thousand eight hundred; that Marcus Lucretius brought these forces by sea, and that Caius Mamilius sent from Sicily four thousand archers and slingers.

39. The disquietude at Rome was increased by a letter brought out of Gaul from the pretor Lucius Porcius; the contents of which were, that 'Hasdrubal had moved out of winter quarters, and was now on his passage over the Alps: that eight thousand of the Ligurians were embodied and armed, and would join him as soon as he arrived in Italy, unless an army were sent into Liguria to attack them beforehand: as to himself, he would advance as far as he should think it safe with his small force.' This letter obliged the consuls to finish the levies with haste, and to set out for their respective provinces earlier than they had intended; for their purpose was, that each should keep his antagonist employed in his own province, so as not to suffer the two to combine their forces into one body. An opinion, formed by Hannibal, helped to farther their design: for though he believed that his brother would make good his way into Italy during the course of that summer, yet, when he reflected on the difficulties with which he had himself struggled, first in the passage of the Rhone, then in that of the Alps, fighting against

men, and against the nature of the places, for five successive months, he had not the least expectation that the other would be able to effect his purpose with so much more ease and expedition; and, for this reason, he was the later in quitting his winter quarters. But Hasdrubal found every thing to proceed more easily and expeditiously than either himself or others had even ventured to hope: for the Arvernians, and afterwards the other Gallic and Alpine tribes, not only gave him a friendly reception, but even accompanied him to the war. Then, in most parts of the country through which he marched, roads had been made by his brother in places until then impassable; besides which, as the Alps had, for twelve years, been a constant route for divers people, he found the disposition of the inhabitants much improved: for in former times, being never visited by foreigners, or accustomed to see a stranger in their country, they were unsociable towards all the human race. Being ignorant at first of the destination of the Carthaginian, they had imagined that his object was their rocks and forts, and to make prey of their men and cattle: but the accounts which they heard of the Punic war, and by which Italy had so long been harassed, by this time fully convinced them that the Alps were only used as a passage, and that two overgrown states, separated by vast tracks of sea and land, were contending for power and empire. These causes opened the Alps to Hasdrubal. But whatever advantage he gained from the celerity of his march, he lost it all by delaying at Placentia, where he carried on a fruitless blockade, rather than an attack. He had supposed that the reduction of a town, standing in a plain, would be easily accomplished; and being a colony of great note, he was persuaded that, by destroying this city, he should fill the rest with terror. That siege, however, not only impeded his own progress, but also stopped Hannibal, when he was just setting out from his winter quarters, in consequence of hearing that his brother had reached Italy so much more quickly than he had expected: for he

considered not only how tedious the siege of a city is, but also how ineffectually he himself, going back victorious from the Trebia, had attempted that same colony.

40. The consuls, taking different routes, when setting out to open the campaign, drew the anxiety of the public in opposite directions, as if to two distinct wars at once; for, besides their recollection of the heavy calamities which Hannibal's first coming had brought on Italy, people were farther distressed by doubts of the issue. 'What gods,' said they to themselves, 'would be so propitious to the city, and to the empire, as to grant success to their arms in both quarters at the same time? Hitherto the business had been protracted by a counterpoise of successes and misfortunes. When in Italy, at the Thrasymenus and Cannæ, the Roman power had been crushed to the earth, a number of successful efforts in Spain had raised it up from its fallen state: when afterwards, in Spain, a succession of defeats, in which two excellent commanders were lost, had, in a great measure, ruined the two armies, the many advantages gained by the Roman arms in Italy and Sicily had afforded shelter to the shattered vessel of the state. Besides, even the distance of place, one war being then carried on in the remotest extremity of the world, allowed room to breathe: but now, two wars had penetrated into the very heart of Italy; two commanders, of the most distinguished reputation, stood on the opposite sides of the city of Rome; and the whole mass of danger, the intire burden, pressed on one spot. Whichever of these commanders should first gain a battle, he would, in a few days after, join his camp with the other.' The preceding year, also, having been saddened by the deaths of the two consuls, served to augment the general apprehensions. Such were the melancholy forebodings which perplexed the minds of the people, as they escorted the commanders on their departure to their provinces. Historians have mentioned, that Marcus Livius, when setting out for the campaign, being still full of resentment against his

countrymen, and warned by Quintus Fabius 'not to come to a battle hastily, or before he was well acquainted with the kind of enemy whom he had to encounter;' answered that 'the first moment that he should get a sight of that enemy, he would fight him:' being asked the reason of such eagerness, he replied, 'I will acquire either extraordinary glory from the defeat of the foe, or joy from that of my countrymen; and though the latter might not perhaps redound to my honor, yet it is certainly what they have deserved at my hands.' Before the consul Claudius arrived in his province, as Hannibal was leading his army towards Sallentum, through the very borders of the Larination frontiers, Caius Hostilius Tubulus, with some lightly accoutred cohorts, attacked him, and caused dreadful confusion among his unmarshalled troops, killing four thousand men, and taking nine military standards. Quintus Claudius, who had his forces cantoned through the towns in the territory of Sallentum, on being apprised of the enemy's motions, marched out of his winter quarters: wherefore, Hannibal, lest he should be obliged to encounter the two armies at once, decamped in the night, and withdrew from the Tarentine territory into Bruttium. Claudius fell back to the country adjoining Sallentum. Hostilius, on his march towards Capua, met the consul Claudius at Venusia; and here were selected, out of both armies, forty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, with which the consul was to act against Hannibal. The rest of the forces Hostilius was ordered to lead to Capua, that he might deliver them up to Quintus Fulvius, proconsul.

41. Hannibal, having drawn together his forces from all quarters, both those which he had hitherto kept in winter quarters, and those which were in garrison in the Bruttian territory, came into Lucania to Grumentum, in hope of regaining the towns which, through fear, had joined the Romans. To the same place came the Roman consul from Venusia, carefully examining the roads as he went, and pitched

his camp at the distance of about fifteen hundred paces from the enemy. From hence the rampart of the Carthaginians seemed to be almost close to the wall of Grumentum; the actual distance, however, was five hundred paces. Between the Carthaginian and Roman camps the ground was level; and on the left-hand side of the Carthaginians, and right of the Romans, stood some naked hills, from which neither party apprehended any mischief, because there were no woods, nor any covering for an ambuscade. Parties sallying from the advanced posts fought several skirmishes of little consequence. It appeared plainly that the Roman general had no other object in view than to hinder the enemy from quitting the place; while Hannibal, wishing to get away, frequently drew out his whole strength, and offered battle. On this occasion the consul adopted the crafty genius of his adversary; and, as there could be little apprehension of a surprise, the hills being open, and having been examined by his scouts, he ordered five cohorts, with five additional companies, to pass over their summit in the night, and conceal themselves in the valleys on the other side. The time when they were to rise from their ambush he settled with Tiberius Claudius Asellus, military tribune, and Publius Claudius, prefect of the allies, whom he sent at their head. He himself, at the dawn of day, drew out all his forces, both foot and horse, into the field. In a short time after Hannibal also, on his side, displayed the signal for battle, and a great noise ensued in his camp, while the men ran hastily to arms. Then all, both horse and foot, rushed eagerly out of the gates, and scattering themselves over the plain, advanced hastily to attack the enemy. The consul, observing them in this disorder, commanded Caius Anrunculeius, tribune of the third legion, to make his cavalry charge them with all possible fury, remarking, that 'they had spread themselves like cattle over the plain, and in such confusion that, before they could be formed, they might be ridden down and trodden under foot.'

42. Hannibal had not yet come out of his camp, when he heard the shouts of the troops engaged: alarmed at this, he led his forces with all speed towards the enemy. The charge of the Roman cavalry had already distressed his van, and, of their infantry, the first legion and the right wing were coming into action, while the Carthaginians, without any regular order, began the fight just as chance threw each in the way of either horseman or footman. The combatants on both sides were sustained by reinforcements; and Hannibal, in the midst of the terror and tumult, would have formed his line while fighting, which is no easy matter, unless to a veteran commander, and in the case of veteran troops, but that the shout of the cohorts and companies, running down from the hills, and which was heard on their rear, struck them with the fear of being cut off from their camp; and had it not been near, (seized as they were with a panic, and flying in every part,) very great numbers would have been slain: for the cavalry stuck close to their rear, and the cohorts, running down the declivity of the hills, over clear and level ground, assailed them in flank. However, upwards of eight thousand men were killed, more than seven hundred men made prisoners, and nine military standards were taken. Even of the elephants, which in such a sudden and irregular action had been of no use, four were killed, and two taken. Of the Romans and their allies there fell about five hundred. Next day the Carthaginian kept himself quiet. The Roman brought his army into the field, and when he saw that none came out to meet him, he ordered the spoils of the slain to be collected, and the bodies of his own men to be brought together and buried. After this, for several successive days, he pushed up so close to the enemy's gates, that he seemed to intend an assault; but, at length, Hannibal decamped, at the third watch of the night, and made towards Apulia, leaving a great number of fires and tents on the side of the camp which faced the enemy, and a few Numidians, who were to show themselves

on the ramparts and at the gates. As soon as day appeared the Roman army came up to the trenches, the Numidians, as directed, showing themselves for some time on the ramparts: having imposed on the enemy as long as possible, they rode off at full speed, until they overtook the body of their army. The consul, perceiving the camp perfectly silent, and no longer seeing any where even the small number who had paraded in view, at the dawn of day despatched two horsemen to examine the state of the works; and when he learned with certainty that all was safe, he ordered his army to march in. Here he delayed no longer than while his men collected the plunder; then, sounding a retreat, long before night, he brought back his forces into their tents. Next day, at the first light, he set out, and following by long marches the tracks of the Carthaginians by such intelligence as he could procure, overtook them not far from Venusia. Here likewise an irregular kind of battle was fought, in which above two thousand of the fugitives fell. From thence, Hannibal, marching in the night, and taking his way through mountains, that he might not be forced to an engagement, proceeded towards Metapontum: from which place Hanno, who commanded the garrison of the town, was sent with a small party into Bruttium to raise fresh forces; while Hannibal, with the addition of the garrison to his own troops, went back to Venusia by the same roads through which he had come, and thence to Canusium. Nero had never quitted the enemy's steps, and when he was going himself to Metapontum, had sent orders to Quintus Fulvius to come into Lucania, lest that country should be left without defence.

43. In the mean time Hasdrubal, having raised the siege of Placentia, sent four Gallic horsemen, and two Numidians, with a letter for Hannibal; these after traversing almost the whole length of Italy, through the midst of enemies, in order to follow him on his retreat to Metapontum, mistook the road, and went towards Tarentum, where they were seized by some

Roman foragers, roving through the country, and conducted to the propretor, Quintus Claudius. At first, they eluded his inquiries by evasive answers; but, on being threatened with torture, fear compelled them to own the truth, and they confessed that they were charged with a letter to Hannibal. With this letter, sealed as it was, the prisoners were given in charge to Lucius Virginus, military tribune, to be conducted to the consul, Claudius, and two troops of Samnite horse were sent to escort them. Claudius caused the letter to be read to him by an interpreter, and having examined the prisoners, he concluded that the present conjuncture of affairs was not of such a nature as to require that the consuls should carry on the war according to regular plans, each within the limits of his own province, by means of his own troops, and against an antagonist pointed out by the senate; but that some extraordinary and daring stroke should be struck, such as could not be foreseen or thought of, which at its commencement might cause no less dread among their countrymen than among the enemy; but, when accomplished, would convert their great fears into as great exultation. Wherefore, sending Hasdrubal's letter to Rome, to the senate, he at the same time acquainted the conscript fathers with his intentions, advising that, as Hasdrubal had written to his brother that he would meet him in Umbria, they should immediately call home the legion then at Capua, raise new levies, and post the city army at Narnia, to intercept the enemy. Such were the contents of his letter to the senate: for himself, he sent on messengers, through the districts of Larina, Marrucia, Frentana, and Præstutia, along the road which he intended to take with his army; giving directions that all the inhabitants should bring down from their towns and farms victuals ready dressed for the soldiers, and that they should furnish horses and other beasts of burden, so that the weary might be accommodated with easy transports. He then selected from the Romans and allies the flower of their armies, consisting of six thousand foot and one

thousand horse ; and giving out that he meant to seize on the nearest town in Lucania and the Carthaginian garrison therein, he ordered them all to be ready for a remove. Having set out in the night, he turned off towards Picenum, and, making the longest possible marches, proceeded directly towards his colleague, having left the command of the camp to Quintus Cælius, lieutenant-general.

44. At Rome there was no less fright and consternation than had been felt two years before, when the Carthaginian camp was brought close to the walls and gates of the city : nor could people well determine whether they should commend or blame the consul for his boldness in undertaking such an adventurous march. It was evident that his reputation would depend on the issue, though there is not perhaps a more unfair method of judging. People considered, with alarming apprehensions, that ‘ the camp, in the neighborhood of such a foe as Hannibal, had been left without a general, and under the guard of an army, the strength of which had been carried away : that the consul, pretending an expedition into Lucania, when in fact he was going to Picenum and Gaul, had left his camp destitute of any other means of safety than merely the enemy’s want of information as to the general and a part of his army having quitted it. What would be the consequence if this should be discovered, and if Hannibal should resolve, either with his whole army to pursue Nero, whose intire force was but six thousand men, or to assault the camp, which was left as a prey, without strength, without command, without auspices ? ’ The past disasters of this war, and the deaths of the two consuls in the last year, served also to increase these terrible fears. Besides, they reflected that ‘ all those misfortunes had happened while there was but one general and one army of the enemy in Italy ; whereas, at present, there were two Punic wars there, two numerous armies, and, in a manner, two Hannibals : for Hasdrubal was a son of the same father, Hamilcar ; was a commander equally enterprising,

trained to making war against the Romans during many campaigns in Spain, and rendered famous by a double victory over them, by the destruction of two of their armies, and two of their ablest commanders. With respect to the speedy accomplishment of his march from Spain, and his address in rousing the Gallic clans to arms, he had much more reason to boast than Hannibal himself; because he had collected a body of auxiliaries in those very places where the other had lost the greater part of his soldiers by hunger and cold, the two most miserable ways in which men can perish.' To all this, people acquainted with the transactions in Spain added, that 'in Nero he would meet an antagonist with whom he was not unacquainted; one whom, formerly, when caught accidentally in a dangerous defile, he had baffled, just as he would a child, by fallacious terms of peace.' Seeing every thing through the medium of fear, which always represents objects in the worst light, they judged all the resources of the enemy greater, and their own less, than they were in reality.

45. When Nero had attained to such a distance from the enemy that his design might be disclosed with safety, he addressed his soldiers in a few words, telling them that 'no general had ever formed a design more daring in appearance, and yet more safe in the execution than his: that he was leading them to certain victory; for as his colleague had not marched against that enemy until the senate had given him such a force, both of infantry and cavalry, as fully satisfied his utmost wishes, and those troops more numerous and better provided than if he were to go against Hannibal himself, the addition thus made to it, whatever might be its intrinsic weight, would certainly turn the scale in his favor. As soon as the foe should hear, in the field of battle, (and he would take care that they should not hear sooner,) that another consul, and another army had arrived, this single circumstance would insure success. A war was, sometimes, happily concluded by the spreading of a report; and incidents of

light moment frequently impelled men's minds to hope or fear. That themselves would reap almost the whole fruits of the glory acquired by success; for, in all cases, the last addition made to the acting force is supposed to be most decisive of the business. That they saw, by the concourse of people attending, with what admiration, and with what warm attachment of all ranks, their march was honored.' And, in fact, all the roads through which they passed were lined with men and women, who crowded thither from all parts of the country, uttering vows and prayers for their success; intermixing praises of their glorious enterprise; calling them the safeguard of the commonwealth, the champions of the city, and of the empire of Rome; on whose arms, and on whose valor, were reposed the safety and liberty of themselves and of their children. They prayed to all the gods and goddesses to grant them a prosperous march, a successful battle, and speedy victory: that they themselves might be bound by the event to pay the vows they offered in their behalf; and that as they now, with minds full of solicitude, accompanied them on their way, so they might, in a few days, go out with hearts overflowing with joy to meet them in triumph. Every one gave them warm invitations, offered them every accommodation, and pressed them with the most earnest intreaties to take from him, rather than from another, whatever was requisite for themselves or their cattle; in a word, every thing that was wanted they with cheerfulness supplied in abundance. Their kindness was equalled by the moderation of the soldiers, who would not accept of any matter whatever beyond their necessary occasions. They never halted on any account, nor quitted their ranks to take their victuals, but marched day and night, scarcely allowing themselves rest enough to answer the calls of nature. Couriers were sent forward to the other consul, to give notice of their coming, and to know from him whether he chose that they should approach secretly or openly, by night or by day; whether they should lodge in the same camp with him or in

another. It was judged best that they should join him secretly in the night.

46. Orders were previously given by the consul Livius, that, on their arrival, each tribune should be accommodated with a lodging by a tribune, each centurion by a centurion, each horseman by a horseman, and each footman by a footman. He considered that it would not be prudent to enlarge the camp, lest the enemy might discover the coming of the second consul; while the crowding together of additional numbers, into lodgings in a narrow space, would be attended with the less inconvenience, as the troops of Claudius had brought with them hardly any thing except their arms. Claudius had augmented his army with a number of volunteers; for many, both veteran soldiers discharged from service, and young men, offered themselves on his march; and, as they eagerly pressed to be employed, he enlisted such of them as, from their personal appearance, seemed fit for the service. The camp of Livius was near Sena, and Hasdrubal lay about five hundred paces beyond it. Wherefore Nero, to avoid entering it before night, halted when he came nigh, and where he was concealed behind mountains. As darkness came on, his men, marching silently, were conducted into tents, each by a person of his own rank; where they were hospitably entertained, amid mutual congratulations and unbounded joy. Next day a council was held, at which was also present the pretor Lucius Porcius Licinus. At this time his camp was joined to that of the consuls. It should however be noticed, that before their coming he had often baffled and perplexed the enemy, leading his troops along the high ground; sometimes seizing narrow defiles to arrest his march, sometimes harassing him by attacks on his rear or flanks, and putting in practice, indeed, every art of war. He now assisted at the council. Many were of opinion that an engagement should be deferred until Nero might refresh his men, who were fatigued by their long march, and want of sleep; and also, that he

should take a few days to himself to gain some knowledge of the enemy. Nero, with the utmost earnestness, intreated them not, 'by delays, to render his enterprise rash in effect, when dispatch would insure its success. In consequence of a deception, which could not last long, Hannibal lay yet, in a manner, motionless; he neither assailed his camp, left as it was without its commander, nor moved a step in pursuit of him. Before he should stir Hasdrubal's army might be cut off, and he himself might return into Apulia. Whoever, by procrastination, allowed time to the enemy, would thereby betray the other camp to Hannibal, and open for him a road into Gaul, so as to enable him at his leisure to effect a junction with Hasdrubal, and whenever he pleased. They ought to give the signal instantly, march out to battle, and to take every advantage of the delusion under which the enemy lay, both the party in their neighborhood, and the other at a distance, while the latter knew not that their opponents were decreased in number, nor the former that theirs were become more numerous and powerful.' Accordingly the council was dismissed, the signal of battle was displayed, and the troops immediately marched out to the field.

47. The Carthaginians were already drawn up in order of battle before their camp. The only thing that prevented an immediate engagement was, that Hasdrubal having, with a few horsemen, advanced before the line, remarked among the enemy some old shields, which he had not seen before, and horses leaner than any he had hitherto observed; their number also seemed greater than usual. On which, suspecting what was the case, he hastily sounded a retreat; sent a party to the watering place at the river, with orders to pick up, if possible, some prisoners; also to observe attentively whether there were any whose complexions were more sun-burned than usual, as from a journey lately made: at the same time, ordering another party to ride round the camp, at a distance, to mark whether the rampart had been extended on any side, and to watch whether

the signal was sounded a second time. Though he received account of all these particulars, yet the circumstance of the camp's not being enlarged led to a false conclusion: they were two, as before the arrival of the second consul; one belonging to Marcus Livius, the other to Lucius Porcius; and no addition had been made to the trenches of either, to make more room for tents within. One thing particularly struck that veteran commander, long accustomed to act against Roman armies, which was, that according to the information of his scouts, the signal was sounded once in the pretor's camp, and twice in the consuls'. Hence he concluded that the two consuls must be there; but how to account for Nero's having left Hannibal behind perplexed him extremely. Of all things, he could the least suspect what had really happened, that Hannibal could be so blinded, and in a business of such magnitude, as not to know where the general was, and where the army whose camp stood facing his own. He supposed that some disaster of no ordinary kind must have hindered him from following; and he began to fear greatly that he himself had come too late with succor, that his affairs were too desperate to be retrieved, and that the same fortune which the Romans had met in Spain awaited them now in Italy. He even conjectured that his letter had not reached his brother; and that, in consequence of its being intercepted, the consul had hastened thither to overpower him. Distracted by these doubts and fears, he extinguished all his fires; and, at the first watch, ordered his troops to strike their tents in silence, and to march. In the hurry and confusion of a movement by night the guides were not watched with the necessary care and attention; one of them, therefore, stopped in a place of concealment, which he had before fixed on in his mind, and the other swam across the river Metaurus, at a pass with which he was acquainted. The troops, thus left destitute of conductors, strayed for some time through the country; and many, overcome by drowsiness and fatigue, stretched themselves on the

ground in various places, leaving the standards thinly attended. Hasdrubal, until daylight should discover a road, ordered the army to proceed along the bank of the river; and as he wandered along the turnings and windings, with which that river remarkably abounds, he made but little progress; still intending, however, to cross it, as soon as the day enabled him to find a convenient passage. But the farther he removed from the sea the higher did he find the banks; so that not meeting with a ford, and wasting the day in the search, he gave the enemy time to overtake him.

48. First, Nero, with all the cavalry, came up; then Porcius, with the light infantry. While they harassed his wearied army by frequent assaults on every side, and while the Carthaginian, now stopping his march, or rather flight, had a mind to encamp on a high spot of ground, on the bank of the river, Livius arrived with the main body of infantry armed, and marshalled for immediate action. When the Romans had united all their forces, and the line was drawn out in array, Claudius took the command of the right wing, Livius of the left; that of the centre was given to the pretor. Hasdrubal, laying aside the design of fortifying a camp, when he saw the necessity of fighting, placed his elephants in front, before the battalions, and, beside them, on the left wing, he opposed the Gauls to Claudius; not that he had much confidence in them, but thinking that they were much dreaded by the enemy. The right wing, which was to oppose Livius, he took to himself, together with the Spaniards; on whom, as being veteran troops, he placed his principal reliance. The Ligurians were posted in the centre, behind the elephants; but the line was too long in proportion to its depth. A rising ground in their front protected the Gauls; and while that part of the line which was composed of the Spaniards engaged the left wing of the Romans, their right wing stretching out beyond the extent of the fight, stood idle; for the eminence between them and the enemy prevented their making an attack either on their front or flank. Between Livius and Hasdru-

bal a furious conflict began, and dreadful slaughter was made on both sides; for here were both the generals; here the greater part of the Roman infantry and cavalry; here the Spaniards, veteran troops, and acquainted with the Roman manner of fighting; and the Ligurians, a race of hardy warriors. To the same part the elephants were driven, which, at the first onset, disordered the van, and made even the battalions give ground; but afterwards, the contest growing hotter, and the shouts louder, they soon became disobedient to the directions of their riders, rambling up and down between the two lines, without distinguishing their own party, and ranging to and fro, not unlike ships without rudders. Claudius in vain attempted to advance up the hill, often calling out thus to his men:— ‘To what purpose then have we, with so much speed, marched over such a length of way?’ However, seeing it impracticable to reach the enemy’s line in that quarter, he drew away some cohorts from his right wing, where the troops would not be able to act, and led them round behind the line. Then, to the surprise not only of the enemy but of his friends also, he made a brisk attack on their right flank; and so quick were his motions, that almost at the same instant when his men appeared on the flank they likewise attacked the rear. Thus the Spaniards and Ligurians were cut to pieces on all sides, in front, and flank, and rear; and the havoc in a short time reached the Gauls. These made very little opposition; for great numbers of them were absent from their posts, having slipped away in the night, and lain down in the fields; while those who were present, being exhausted by fatigue and want of sleep, and being naturally ill qualified to endure toil, had scarcely strength remaining sufficient to support their armor. By this time it was mid-day; and while they were panting with heat and thirst, they were slain or taken at the will of the Romans.

49. Of the elephants, more were killed by their guides than by the enemy. These carried a knife, like that used by shoemakers, with a mallet; and when the

animals began to grow furious, and to rush on their own party, the manager of each, fixing this instrument between its ears, on the joint which connects the head with the neck, drove it in with the strongest blow that he could give. This had been found the speediest method of killing animals of that great size, when they had become so unruly as to leave no hope of managing them; and it had been first brought into practice by Hasdrubal, whose conduct in the command of an army, as on many other occasions, so particularly in this battle, merited very high encomiums. By his exhortations, and by taking an equal share in the dangers, he supported the spirits of his men; and at one time by intreaties, at another by reproofs, he reanimated the wearied, when, from the length and labor of the action, they were disposed to lay down their arms. He called back the flying, and restored the battle in many places where it had been given up. At last, when Fortune evidently declared for the Romans, unwilling to survive so great an army, which had followed his standard on the credit of his reputation, he set spurs to his horse, and plunged himself into the midst of a Roman cohort; where, as became the son of Hamilcar, and the brother of Hannibal, he fell fighting. In no one action, during that war, were so great numbers of the enemy slain; so much so, indeed, that the damage retorted on him was deemed equivalent to that sustained at Cannæ. Fifty-six thousand of them were killed, and five thousand four hundred taken. The other booty was great of every kind, as well as of gold and silver. Besides which, there were recovered above four thousand Roman citizens, prisoners, which was some consolation for the soldiers lost in the battle; for the victory was far from a bloodless one, nearly eight thousand of the Romans and allies being killed. And so far were even the victors satiated with blood and slaughter, that next day, when the consul Livius was told that the Cisalpine Gauls and Ligurians, who had either not been present in the battle, or had made their escape from the general carnage, were marching

off in a body, without any certain leader, without standards, without order or subordination, and that they might all be cut off, if one squadron of horse were sent against them, he answered, 'Let some be left alive, to carry home accounts of the enemy's losses, and of our valor.'

50. On the night which followed the battle Nero set out on his return; and by marches even speedier than he had made in coming, on the sixth day after reached his former post opposite the enemy. The crowds of people attending him were less than before, because no messenger had preceded him; but these exhibited such demonstrations of joy, as to seem transported almost beyond their reason. It is impossible to express or describe the emotions that agitated the minds of all persons at Rome, either while waiting in doubtful expectation of the event, or when they received the news of the victory. The senators never quitted the senate-house, nor the magistrates, nor the people, the forum, from the rising to the setting sun, during the whole of Claudius' march; so eager were they to greet him. The matrons, incapable themselves of contributing aid, had recourse to prayers and supplications; and going about from one temple to another, wearied the gods with their intreaties and their vows. While the public were in this painful suspense, first an unauthenticated rumor spread that two Narnian horsemen had come from the field of battle to the camp which stood on the frontiers of Umbria, with intelligence that the enemy were utterly defeated. For some time this news, though listened to, was but little credited, as being too great, and too joyful, for the people's minds to admit, or readily believe; and even the quickness of the conveyance was urged as an objection to the truth of it; as the account said that the battle was fought only two days before. Soon after this a letter was brought from the camp by Lucius Manlius Acidinus, confirming the arrival of the Narnian horsemen. This letter being carried through the forum to the pretor's tribunal, brought out the

senate from their house; and the people thronged together with such impatience and tumult to the door, that the messenger could not approach, but was dragged about amid a multitude of questions, and all demanding, with much vociferation, that the letter should be read from the rostrum even before it was submitted to the senate. At length they were reduced to order by the magistrates, and obliged to make room, that the joyful tidings might be regularly imparted to the public, who were unable to govern their transports. The dispatch was accordingly read, first in the senate, then in the assembly of the people; some embracing the joyful news as certain, while others refused to credit any thing until they should hear it from the deputies, or the letters of the consuls.

51. After some time an account was brought that deputies were really coming, and not far off. On this, people of all ages ran out eagerly to meet them, each coveting to receive, from his own eyes and ears, convincing proofs of the reality of such a happy event. One continued train reached all the way to the Mulvian bridge: the deputies were, Lucius Veturius Philo, Publius Licinius Varus, and Quintus Cæcilius Metellus. Surrounded by a vast multitude of every sort, they went on to the forum, while some inquired of them, others of their attendants, concerning what had been done; and as soon as any one heard that the enemy's general and army had been cut off, that the Roman legions were safe, and the consuls unhurt, he immediately communicated his own joy to others. When the deputies had, with much difficulty, reached the senate-house, and the crowd was, with much greater difficulty, obliged to retire, that they might not mix with the senators, the letters were read in the senate; and then the deputies were brought out into the general assembly. Lucius Veturius, after reading the dispatches, gave, in his own words, a fuller detail of all that had passed; which was heard with the greatest delight, and was at last followed by a universal shout from the whole assembly, who were un-

able to restrain the effusions of their joy. They then separated; some hastening to the temples of the gods to return thanks, some to their own houses, to impart the happy news to their wives and children. The senate, in consideration of the consuls, Marcus Livius and Caius Claudius, having cut off the general and the legions of the enemy, decreed a supplication for three days; which supplication the pretor, Caius Hostilius, proclaimed in the assembly, and it was performed with great devotion by all, both men and women. During the whole three days, all the temples were equally filled with crowds, whose numbers never diminished; whilst the matrons, dressed in the most splendid manner, and accompanied by their children, being now delivered from every apprehension, just as if the war were at an end, offered thanksgivings to the immortal gods. This victory produced also a powerful effect on the internal business of the state; insomuch, that people immediately took courage to hold commerce with each other as in time of peace, buying, selling, lending, and paying money due. The consul Claudius, on returning to his camp, ordered the head of Hasdrubal, which he had carefully kept and brought with him, to be thrown before the advanced guards of the enemy; and the African prisoners, chained as they were, to be exposed to their view. Two of these he also unbound and sent to Hannibal, with orders to inform him of what had happened. We are told that Hannibal, deeply struck by a disaster so fatal to his country, and his house, said that he felt now the fortune of Carthage. He then decamped, and retired thence, designing to draw together into Bruttium, the remotest corner of Italy, all those confederates whom, while scattered at wide distances, he could not protect; and he removed from their own habitations, and carried away into Bruttium, all the Metapontines, and such of the Lucanians as acknowledged his authority.

BOOK XXVIII.

CHAP. 1. AT the time when, in consequence of Hasdrubal's removing his forces, Spain seemed to be relieved of so much of the burden of the war as had been thrown on Italy, hostilities suddenly revived there with the same violence as before. The possessions of the Romans and Carthaginians in Spain, at that time, were thus situated: Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, had withdrawn quite to the ocean and Gades; the coast of our sea, and almost all that part of Spain which lies to the eastward, was under the power of Scipio, and the dominion of the Romans. Hanno, the new general, who had come over from Africa with a new army, in the room of Hasdrubal Barcas, and joined Mago, having quickly armed a great number of men in Celtiberia (an inland province, equidistant from both seas), Scipio, to oppose him, sent Marcus Silanus with only ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. Silanus proceeded with all possible expedition; and though his march was impeded by the ruggedness of the roads, and by defiles surrounded with thick woods, which are met with in most parts of Spain, yet, taking for guides some of the natives, who had deserted from Celtiberia, he came up with the Carthaginians before any messenger, or even any report of his approach, had reached them. From deserters he also received information, when he was about ten miles distant from the enemy, that they had two camps, one on each side of the road in which he was marching; that the Celtiberians, who were newly raised forces, amounting to more than nine thousand men, formed the camp on the left, the Carthaginians that on the right; that the latter was strong, and secured by outposts, watches, and every regular military guard: the other disorderly, and negligently guarded, being composed of barbarians, who were but lately enlisted, and were under the less apprehension because they were in their own country. Silanus, re-

solving to charge this division first, ordered the troops to direct their course a great way to the left, so as not to come within view of the posts of the Carthaginians ; and having despatched scouts before him, he advanced in a brisk march to attack the enemy.

2. He had arrived within about three miles, and not one of the enemy had yet descried him ; craggy rocks, interspersed with thick bushes, covered the hills. Here, in a valley so deep as to be out of the way of observation, he ordered his men to halt, and take refreshment : the scouts in the mean time arrived, confirming the intelligence given by the deserters. On this the Romans, collecting the baggage into the centre, armed themselves, and moved forward in regular order. At the distance of a mile they were perceived by the enemy, among whom their appearance immediately created much hurry and confusion. On the first shout, Mago rode up in full speed from his camp. Now there were, in the Celtiberian army, four thousand targeteers, and two hundred horsemen : this regular legion (and it was almost the whole of their strength) he placed in the first line ; the rest, who were lightly armed, he posted in reserve. While he was leading them out of the camp in this order, and when they had scarcely got clear of the rampart, the Romans discharged their javelins at them ; these the Spaniards stooped to avoid, and then the enemy rose to discharge their own ; which, when the Romans, in close array, had received on their conjoined shields, in their accustomed manner, they immediately closed foot to foot, and had recourse to their swords to determine the contest. But the unevenness of the ground, at the same time that it rendered their agility useless to the Celtiberians, who practise a desultory method of fighting, was no disadvantage to the Romans, accustomed to a steady fight, except that the narrow passes, and the bushes interspersed, disordered their ranks, and obliged them to engage one against one, or two against two, as if they had been matched for the combat. The same circumstance which prevented the enemy from flying delivered them up, as

if in fetters, to slaughter. The targeteers of the Celtiberians being thus almost intirely cut off, the light troops and the Carthaginians, who had come from the other camp to support them, were quickly routed and put to the sword. About two thousand foot and all the cavalry fled with Mago at the very onset. Hanno, the other general, and those who came up last, after the battle was decided, were taken alive. Almost the whole of the cavalry, and what veteran infantry they had, following Mago in his flight, came on the tenth day to Hasdrubal in the province of Gades: the Celtiberian soldiers, being newly levied, dispersed into the neighboring woods, and thence escaped to their respective homes. By this seasonable victory was suppressed a war, which was not of so much importance on account of its present magnitude, as of its being a foundation from which one much more considerable might have arisen, had the enemy been allowed, after having roused the Celtiberians to arms, to persuade the other states to join in the same cause. Scipio, therefore, having bestowed liberal commendations on Silanus, and seeing reason to hope that he might be able to finish the dispute at once by exerting himself with proper activity, advanced into Farther Spain against Hasdrubal. The Carthaginian (who happened at that time to have his army in Bætica, for the purpose of securing the fidelity of his allies in that country), decamping hastily, led it away, in a manner much more resembling a flight than a march, quite to the ocean and Gades. He was fearful, however, that as long as he kept his forces together, he should be considered as the primary object of the enemy's operations. Before he passed over the strait to Gades, he therefore dispersed them into the different cities; in the view, likewise, that they might provide for their own safety by help of walls, and for that of the towns by their arms.

3. When Scipio found that the enemy's troops were thus widely scattered, and that the carrying about his own to each of the several cities would be a very

tedious if not difficult work, he marched back his army. Unwilling, however, to leave the possession of all that country to the Carthaginians, he sent his brother, Lucius Scipio, with ten thousand foot and one thousand horse, to lay siege to the most considerable city in those parts, called by the barbarians Orinx, situate on the borders of the Milesians, a Spanish nation so called—a desirable spot, the adjacent parts affording mines of silver, and the soil being fruitful. This place served Hasdrubal as a fortress, whence he used to make incursions on the states around. Scipio encamped near to it. Before raising his works of circumvallation, however, he sent some persons to the gates to try the disposition of the inhabitants in a conference, and to recommend to them rather to make trial of the friendship than the power of the Romans. As their answers showed no inclination to peace, he surrounded the city with a trench and a double rampart; breaking his army into three parts, in order that one division might always carry on the attack while the other two rested. When the first of these began the assault, the contest was furious and desperate: it was with the greatest difficulty that they could approach, or bring up the ladders to the walls, on account of the showers of weapons which fell on them; and even of those who had raised them, some were tumbled down with forks made for the purpose, others found themselves in danger of being caught by iron grapples, and of being dragged up on the wall. When Scipio saw that his men were too few to make an impression, and that the enemy, from the advantage of their works, had even the better of the dispute, he called off the first division, and attacked with the two others at once. This struck such terror into the besieged, already fatigued, that not only the townsmen quickly forsook the walls, but the Carthaginian garrison, fearing that the town had been betrayed, likewise left their posts and collected themselves into a body. The inhabitants, on this, were seized with apprehensions lest the enemy, if they broke into the

town, should put to the sword every one they met without distinction, whether Carthaginian or Spaniard. They instantly, therefore, threw open one of the gates, and rushed out of the town in crowds, holding their shields before them, lest any weapons should be cast at them, and stretching out their right hands expanded, to show that they had thrown away their swords. Whether this latter circumstance was unobserved on account of the distance, or whether some stratagem was suspected, is uncertain; but the deserters were attacked as enemies, and put to death. Through this gate the troops marched into the city in hostile array. The other gates were broken open with axes and sledges, and as soon as the horsemen entered, they galloped forward to secure the forum, for such were the orders; the veterans also were joined to the horse to support them. The legionary soldiers spread themselves all over the city, but neither slew nor plundered any, except those who stood on their defence. All the Carthaginians were put into confinement, with above three hundred of the inhabitants who had shut the gates; the rest had the town delivered up to them, and their effects restored. There fell in the assault, of the enemy, about two thousand; of the Romans, not more than ninety.

4. As the capture of this city afforded matter of much exultation to those engaged in it, so it rendered their approach to the camp a magnificent spectacle to the general and the rest of the army, on account of the immense crowd of prisoners which they drove before them. Scipio having declared his approbation of his brother's conduct, and in the highest strains extolled his taking of Orinx as equal to his own taking of Carthage, led back his forces into Hither Spain. The approach of winter put it out of his power either to make an attempt on Gades, or to pursue the army of Hasdrubal, now dispersed in all parts of the province. Dismissing therefore the legions to their winter quarters, and sending his brother Lucius Scipio with Hanno, the enemy's general, and other prisoners of distinction,

to Rome, he himself retired to Tarraco. During the same year the Roman fleet, under Marcus Valerius Lævinus, proconsul, sailing over from Sicily to Africa, made extensive devastations in the territories of Utica and Carthage, carrying off plunder from the remotest bounds of the Carthaginian territory, even from under the very walls of Utica. On their return to Sicily they were met by a Carthaginian fleet, consisting of seventy ships of war; seventeen of these they took, and sunk four; the rest were beaten and dispersed. The Romans, victorious by land and sea, returned to Lilybæum, with immense booty of every kind. The sea being thus cleared of the enemy, abundance of provision was brought to Rome.

5. In the beginning of the summer during which these transactions passed Publius Sulpicius, proconsul, and king Attalus, after having wintered at Ægina as mentioned above, united their fleets, consisting of twenty-three Roman five-banked galleys, and thirty-five belonging to the king, and sailed from thence to Lemnos. Philip also, that he might be prepared for every sort of exertion, whether he should have occasion to oppose the enemy on land or sea, came down to the coast of Demetrias, and appointed a day for his army to assemble at Larissa. On the news of the king's arrival embassies from his allies came to Demetrias from all sides; for the Ætolians, elated both by their alliance with the Romans, and by the approach of Attalus, were ravaging the neighboring states. Not only the Acarnanians, Bœotians, and Eubœans, were under violent apprehensions, but the Achæans also were kept in terror, as well by the hostilities of the Ætolians as by Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmon, who had pitched his camp at a small distance from the borders of the Argives. All these, representing the dangers both on land and sea with which their several possessions were threatened, implored the king's assistance. Philip, even from his own kingdom, received accounts that affairs there were not in a state of tranquillity; that both Scerdilædus and Pleuratus were in

motion; and that some of the Thracians, particularly the Mædians, would certainly make incursions into the adjoining provinces of Macedonia, if the king should be employed in a distant war. The Bœotians, indeed, and the people of the inland parts of Greece, informed him that, in order to prevent them from passing to the assistance of the allied states, the straits of Thermopylæ, where the road is confined, and contracted to a very narrow breadth, had been shut up by the Ætolians with a ditch and a rampart. Such a number of disturbances on all sides were sufficient to rouse even an indolent leader: he dismissed the ambassadors with promises of assisting them all, as time and circumstances would permit. He sent to Peparethus a garrison for the city; a business which required the utmost dispatch, accounts having been received from thence that Attalus had sailed over from Lemnos, and was ravaging all the country round. He despatched Polyphantas, with a small number of forces, to Bœotia; and likewise Menippus, one of the officers of his guards, with one thousand targeteers, (the target is not unlike the common buckler,) to Chalcis. Agrianum was reinforced with five hundred men, that all parts of the island might be secured. He himself went to Scotussa, ordering the Macedonian troops to be brought over thither from Larissa. He was there informed that the Ætolians had been summoned to an assembly at Heraclea, and that king Attalus was to come to consult with them on the conduct of the war. Resolving to disturb this meeting by his sudden approach, he led his army by forced marches to Heraclea, and arrived there just after the assembly had been dismissed. However, he destroyed the crops, which were almost ripe, particularly round the Ænian bay. He then led back his forces to Scotussa, and, leaving there the body of his army, retired with the royal guards to Demetrias. That he might be in readiness to meet every effort of the enemy, he sent people from hence to Phocis, and Eubœa, and Peparethus, to choose out elevated situations; where fires being

lighted, might be seen from afar. He fixed a beacon on Tisæum, a mountain whose summit is of an immense height, that, by means of lights on these eminences, whenever the enemy made any attempt, he might, though distant, receive instant intelligence of it. The Roman general and king Attalus passed over from Pe-
parethus to Nicæa, and from thence sailed to the city of Orcus, which is the first city of Eubœa on the left, on the way from the bay of Demetrias to Chalcis and the Euripus.

6. It was concerted between Attalus and Sulpicius that the Romans should assault the town on the side next the sea, and at the same time make an attack on the king's forces on the land side. Four days after the arrival of the fleet the operations began. The intermediate time had been spent in private conferences with Plator, who had been appointed by Philip to the command of the place. There are two citadels, one hanging over the coast, the other in the middle of the town, and from this there is a subterraneous passage to the ocean, the entrance of which, next to the sea, is covered with a strong fortification, a tower five stories in height. Here the contest first commenced, and that with the utmost violence, the tower being well stored with all kinds of weapons; these, with engines and machines for the assault, having been landed from the ships. While the attention and eyes of all were drawn to that side, Plator, opening one of the gates, received the Romans into the citadel next the sea, of which they became masters in a moment. The inhabitants, driven thence, fled to the other citadel in the middle of the city; but troops had been posted there to keep the gates shut against them; so that, being thus excluded and surrounded, they were all either slain or taken prisoners. In the mean time, the Macedonian garrison making no resistance, stood in a compact body under the walls. These men Plator (having obtained leave from Sulpicius) embarked in some ships, and landed them at Demetrias in Phthiotis; he himself withdrew to Attalus. Sulpicius, elated by his success

at Oreum, so easily obtained, proceeded with his victorious fleet to Chalcis, where the issue by no means answered his expectations. The sea, from being pretty wide at each side, is here contracted into a strait so very narrow, that at first view the whole appears like two harbors facing the two entrances of the Euripus. A more dangerous station for a fleet can hardly be found; for besides that the winds rush down suddenly, and with great fury, from the high mountains on each side, the strait itself of the Euripus does not ebb and flow seven times a day at stated hours, as report says; but the current, changing irregularly, like the wind, from one point to another, is hurried along like a torrent tumbling from a steep mountain; so that, night or day, ships can never lie quiet. But, besides the perilous situation in which his fleet lay, he found that the town was firm and impregnable; surrounded on one side by the sea, extremely well fortified by land on the other; secured by a strong garrison, and, above all, by the fidelity of the commanders and principal inhabitants; which character those at Oreum had not supported with honor or steadiness. The Roman, in a business rashly undertaken, acted so far prudently, that, when he had seen all the difficulties attending it, not to waste time, he quickly desisted from the attempt, removing with his fleet from thence to Cynus in Locris, the landing-place for the city of Opus, which lies at the distance of a mile from the sea.

7. Philip had received notice from Oreum by the signal fires; but, through the treachery of Plator, it was too late when they were raised on the beacons, and as he was not a match for the enemy at sea, it was difficult for him to approach the island; he hesitated, therefore, and took no part in that business. To the relief of Chalcis he flew with alacrity, as soon as he perceived the signal: for though Chalcis stands on the same island, yet the strait which separates it from the continent is so narrow, that there is a communication between them by a bridge, and the approach to it is easier by land than by water. Philip, therefore;

having gone from Demetrias to Scotussa, and setting out thence at the third watch, dislodged the guard, routed the Ætolians who kept possession of the pass of Thermopylæ, and drove the dismayed enemy to Heraclea, accomplishing in one day a march of above sixty miles to Elatia in Phocis. About the same time the city of Opus was taken and plundered by Attalus. Sulpicius had given it up to the king, because Oreum had been sacked a few days before by the Roman soldiers, and his men had received no share. After the Roman fleet had retired to Oreum, Attalus, not apprised of Philip's approach, wasted time in levying contributions from the principal inhabitants; and so unexpected was his coming, that, had not some Cretans, who happened to go in quest of forage farther from the town than usual, espied the enemy, he might have been surprised. Without arms, and in the utmost confusion, he fled precipitately to his ships. Just as they were putting off from the land, Philip came up, and though he did not advance from the shore, yet his arrival caused a good deal of confusion among the mariners. From thence he returned to Opus, inveighing against gods and men for his disappointment in having the opportunity of striking so important a blow thus snatched from him, and when almost within reach of his arm. The Opuntians, also, he rebuked in angry terms, because, although they might have prolonged the siege until he arrived, yet they had immediately, on sight of the enemy, made almost a voluntary surrender. Having put affairs at Opus in order, he proceeded thence to Thronium. On the other side, Attalus at first retired to Oreum, but having heard there that Prusias, king of Bithynia, had invaded his kingdom, he laid aside all attention to the affairs of the Romans and the Ætolian war, and passed over into Asia. Sulpicius, too, withdrew his fleet to Ægina, from whence he had set out in the beginning of spring. Philip found as little difficulty in possessing himself of Thronium, as Attalus had met at Opus. This city was inhabited by foreigners, natives of

Thebes in Phthiotis, who, when their own was taken by the Macedonian, had fled for protection to the Ætolians, and had obtained from them a settlement in this place, which had been laid waste and deserted in the former war with the same Philip. After recovering Thronium in the manner related, he continued his route; and, having taken Tritonos and Drymæ, inconsiderable towns of Doris, he came thence to Elatia, where he had ordered the ambassadors of Ptolemy and the Rhodians to wait for him. While they were deliberating there on the method of putting an end to the Ætolian war, (for the ambassadors had been present at the late assembly of the Romans and Ætolians at Heraclea,) news was brought that Machanidas intended to attack the people of Elis while they were busied in preparations for solemnising the Olympic games. Judging it incumbent on him to prevent such an attempt, he dismissed the ambassadors with a favorable answer, that 'he had neither given cause for the war, nor would give any obstruction to a peace, provided it could be procured on just and honorable terms:' then, proceeding through Bœotia by quick marches, he came down to Megara, and from thence to Corinth; and, receiving there supplies of provision, repaired to Phlius and Pheneus. When he had advanced as far as Heræa, intelligence was brought him that Machanidas, terrified at the account of his approach, had retreated to Lacedæmon; on which he withdrew to Ægium, where the Achæans were assembled in council, expecting at the same time to meet there a Carthaginian fleet which he had sent for, in order that he might be able to undertake some enterprise by sea. But the Carthaginians had left that place a few days before, and were gone to the Oxean islands, and from thence, (on hearing that the Romans and Attalus had left Oreum,) to the harbors of the Acarnanians; for they apprehended that an attack was intended against themselves, and that they might be overpowered while within the straits of Rhios (so the entrance of the Corinthian bay is called).

8. Philip was filled with grief and vexation when he found that, although he had, on all occasions, made the most spirited and speedy exertions, yet fortune had baffled his activity, by snatching away every advantage when he had it within his view. In the assembly, however, concealing his chagrin, he spoke with great confidence, appealing to gods and men, that 'at no time or place had he ever been remiss; that wherever the sound of the enemy's arms was heard, thither he had instantly repaired; but that it could hardly be determined whether, in the management of the war, his forwardness or the enemy's cowardice was more conspicuous; in such a dastardly manner had Attalus slipped out of his hands from Opus; Sulpicius from Chalcis; and in the same way within these few days, Machanidas. That flight however did not always succeed; and that a war should not be accounted difficult, in which victory would be certain if the foe could be brought to a regular engagement. One advantage, however, and that of the first magnitude, he had already acquired—the confession of the enemy themselves that they were not a match for him; and in a short time,' he said, 'he should have to boast of undoubted conquest; for whenever the enemy would meet him in the field, they should find the issue no better than they seemed to expect.' This discourse of the king was received by the allies with great pleasure. He then gave up to the Achæans Heræa and Triphylia. Aliphera he restored to the Megalopolitans, they having produced sufficient evidence that it belonged to their territories. Having received some vessels from the Achæans, three galleys of four, and three of two banks of oars, he sailed to Anticyra; from thence, with seven ships of five banks, and above twenty barks, which he had sent to the bay of Corinth to join the Carthaginian fleet, he proceeded to Erythræ, a town of the Ætolians near Eupalium, and there made a descent. He was not unobserved by the Ætolians; for all who were either in the fields, or in the neighboring forts of Apollonia and Potidania, fled to

the woods and mountains. The cattle, which they could not drive off in their hurry, were seized and put on board. With these and the other booty he sent Nicias, pretor to the Achæans, to Ægium; and going to Corinth, he ordered his army to march by land through Bœotia, while he himself, sailing from Cenchrea, along the coast of Attica, round the promontory of Sunium, reached Chalcis, after passing almost through the middle of the enemy's fleet. Having highly commended the fidelity and bravery of the inhabitants, in not suffering either fear or hope to influence their minds, and having exhorted them to persevere in maintaining the alliance with the same constancy, if they preferred their present situation to that of the inhabitants of Oreum and Opus, he sailed to Oreum; and having there conferred the direction of affairs, and the command of the city, on such of the chief inhabitants as had chosen to fly rather than surrender to the Romans, he sailed over from Eubœa to Demetrias, from whence he had at first set out to assist his allies. Soon after, he laid the keels of one hundred ships of war at Cassandria, collecting a great number of ship-carpenters to finish the work; and, as the seasonable assistance which he had afforded his allies in their distress, and the departure of Attalus, had restored tranquillity in the affairs of Greece, he withdrew into his own kingdom with an intention of making war on the Dardanians.

9. Towards the end of the summer, during which these transactions passed in Greece, Quintus Fabius, son of Maximus, who served as lieutenant-general, brought a message from Marcus Livius, the consul, to the senate at Rome, in which he gave it as his opinion that Lucius Porcius with his legions was sufficient to secure the province of Gaul, and that he himself might depart thence, and the consular army be withdrawn. On which the senate ordered not only Marcus Livius, but his colleague also, Caius Claudius, to return to the city. In their decree they made only this difference,—that Marcus Livius' army be withdrawn,

but that Nero's legions remain in the province to oppose Hannibal. It had been concerted between the consuls, by letter, that as they had been of one mind in the management of affairs, so they should arrive together at one time in the city, though they were to come from different quarters; whichever came first to Præneste being directed to wait there for his colleague. It so happened that they both arrived at that town on the same day; and then, having sent forward a proclamation, requiring a full meeting of the senate in the temple of Bellona on the third day after, they advanced towards the city, from whence the whole multitude poured out to meet them. The surrounding crowds were not satisfied with saluting them, though but at a little distance; each pressed eagerly forward to touch the victorious hands of the consuls; some congratulating, others giving them thanks for having by their valor procured safety to the state. In the senate, having given a recital of their exploits, according to the usual practice of commanders of armies, they demanded that, 'on account of their bravery and success in the conduct of affairs, due honors might be paid to the immortal gods, and they themselves allowed to enter the city in triumph.' To which the senate answered, that 'they decreed with pleasure the matters contained in their demand, as a proper return, due, first to the gods, and, after the gods, to the consuls.' A thanksgiving in the name of both, and a triumph to each, had been decreed: the consuls, however, wishing that, as their sentiments had been united during the course of the war, their triumphs should not be separated, came to this agreement between themselves,—that, 'inasmuch as the business had been accomplished within the province of Marcus Livius, and as, on the day whereon the battle was fought, it happened to be his turn to command, and as the army of Livius had been withdrawn and was now at Rome, while Nero's could not be withdrawn from the province; it should on all these accounts be ordered that Marcus Livius make his entry in a chariot, drawn by

four horses, attended by the troops; Caius Claudius Nero, on horseback, without troops.' As the uniting of their triumphs in this manner enhanced the glory of both the consuls, so it reflected peculiar honor on him who condescended to appear in the procession, as much inferior to his colleague in magnificence, as he was superior to him in merit. People said, that 'the commander on horseback had, in the space of six days, traversed the extent of Italy, and had fought a pitched battle with Hasdrubal in Gaul, on the very day when Hannibal imagined he was lying in his camp opposite to him in Apulia; that thus this single consul (equal to the defence of both extremities of Italy against two armies and two generals) had opposed against one, his skill; against the other, his person. That the very name of Nero had been sufficient to confine Hannibal to his camp; and as to Hasdrubal, by what other means than by the arrival of Nero had he been overwhelmed and cut off? The other consul, therefore, might proceed in his stately chariot: he was drawn, indeed, by a number of horses, but the real triumph belonged to him who had only one; and that Nero, though he should go on foot, deserved to be for ever celebrated, both for having acquired so much glory in the war, and shown so much indifference to the pompous display of it in the present procession.' With such encomiums did the spectators attend Nero through his whole progress to the capitol. The consuls carried to the treasury three hundred thousand sesterces¹ in money, and eighty thousand asses² of brass; to the soldiers, Marcus Livius distributed fifty-six asses³ each. Caius Claudius promised the same sum to his absent troops, as soon as he should return to the army. It was remarked that the soldiers, on that day, directed more of their military songs and verses to Caius Claudius than to their own commander; that the horsemen distinguished Lucius Veturius and Quintus Cæcilius, lieutenants-general, by extraordinary praises, exhorting the commons to ap-

¹ 24,218l. 15s.² 256l. 6s. 8d.³ 3s. 7½d.

point them consuls for the next year ; and that both Livius and Nero added their authority to this recommendation, representing next day in the assembly the bravery and fidelity which the said lieutenants-general had manifested in the service.

10. When the time of the elections arrived, as it had been determined that they should be held by a dictator, the consul Caius Claudius nominated his colleague Marcus Livius to that office. Livius appointed Quintus Cæcilius master of the horse. By Marcus Livius were elected consuls, Lucius Veturius and Quintus Cæcilius, who was then master of the horse. The election of pretors was next held : there were appointed Caius Servilius, Marcus Cæcilius Metellus, Tiberius Claudius Asellus, and Quintus Mamilius Turinus, at that time plebeian edile. When the elections were finished, the dictator, having laid down his office and dismissed his army, set out for his province of Etruria, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, in order to make inquiries what states of the Tuscans or Umbrians had, on the approach of Hasdrubal, formed schemes of revolting to him from the Romans ; or who had afforded him men, provisions, or any kind of aid. Such were the transactions of that year at home and abroad. The Roman games were thrice repeated by the curule ediles, Cneius Servilius Cæpio and Servius Cornelius Lentulus. The plebeian games also were once repeated intire by the plebeian ediles, Manius Pomponius Matho and Quintus Mamilius Thurinus. [A. U. C. 546. B. C. 206.] In the thirteenth year of the Punic war, when Lucius Veturius Philo and Quintus Cæcilius Metellus were consuls, they were both appointed to the province of Bruttium, to conduct the war against Hannibal. The pretors then cast lots for their provinces : the business of the city fell to Marcus Cæcilius Metellus ; the jurisdiction in relation to foreigners, to Quintus Mamilius ; Sicily, to Caius Servilius ; and Sardinia, to Tiberius Claudius. The armies were thus distributed : to one of the consuls, that which had been under Caius Claudius, the consul of the former year ; to the other, that which had been

under Quintus Claudius, propretor; they consisted each of two legions. It was decreed that Marcus Livius, proconsul, whose command had been prolonged for a year, should receive two legions of volunteer slaves from Caius Terentius, propretor in Etruria; and that Quintus Mamilius should transfer his judicial employment to his colleague, and take the command in Gaul with the army which had belonged to Lucius Porcius, propretor; orders at the same time being given him to lay waste the lands of the Gauls, who had revolted on the approach of Hasdrubal. The protection of Sicily was given in charge to Caius Servilius, with the two legions of Cannæ, as Caius Mamilius had held it. From Sardinia, the old army which had served under Aulus Hostilius, was brought home; and the consuls levied a new legion, which Tiberius Claudius was to carry with him. Quintus Claudius and Caius Hostilius Tubulus were continued in command for a year, that the former might hold Tarentum as his province, the latter Capua. Marcus Valerius, proconsul, who had been intrusted with the defence of the sea-coasts round Sicily, was ordered to deliver thirty ships to Caius Servilius, and to return home with all the rest of the fleet.

11. While the public was under much anxiety, on account of the great danger and importance of the war, and ever apt to refer to the gods the causes of all their successes and disappointments, accounts were propagated of a number of prodigies: that at Tarracina, the temple of Jupiter; at Satricum, that of Mother Matuta, had been struck by lightning; the people being also greatly terrified by two snakes creeping into the former unperceived through the very door. From Antium it was reported that ears of corn had appeared bloody to the reapers. At Cære a pig had been littered with two heads, and a lamb yeaned which was of both sexes. It was said also, that two suns had been seen at Alba, and that light had burst forth on a sudden during the night-time at Fregellæ. An ox, it was asserted, had spoken in the neighborhood of Rome; and a profuse sweat had flowed from the altar of Neptune,

in the Flaminian circus; and also, that the temples of Ceres, Safety, and Romulus, were struck by lightning. These prodigies the consuls were ordered to expiate with the greater victims, and to perform a solemn supplication to the gods during one day; all which was strictly observed, in pursuance of a decree of the senate. But what struck more terror into men's minds than all these ominous and preternatural appearances, at home or abroad, was the extinction of the fire in the temple of Vesta, and for which the vestal who had the watch for that night was whipped to death by order of the pontiff Publius Licinius. Although this extinction was occasioned, not by the gods directing it as a portent, but by the negligence of a human being, yet it was thought proper that it should be expiated by the greater victims, and that a supplication should be solemnised at the temple of Vesta. Before the consuls set out to the campaign they received directions from the senate to 'take measures to make the common people return to their lands in the country, where they might now reside in safety, as, by the favor of the gods, the war had been removed to a distance from the city of Rome, and from Latium; for it was quite inconsistent to pay more attention to the cultivation of Sicily than to that of Italy.' It was however no easy matter to obtain a compliance with this injunction: the laborers of free condition were most of them lost in the war, slaves were scarce, the cattle had been carried off in booty, and their dwellings thrown down and burnt. Nevertheless a great number, compelled by the authority of the consuls, returned as directed. The mention of this affair had been occasioned by deputies from Placentia and Cremona, who complained that incursions were made on them by the neighboring Gauls; that a great part of their settlers had dispersed; that their cities were thinly inhabited, and their territory waste and deserted. A charge was given to the pretor Mamilius to protect the colonies from the enemy. The consuls, in pursuance of the decree of the senate, issued an edict, that all the citizens of Cremona and Placentia should return before a certain day to

those colonies; and then, in the beginning of the spring, they set out to carry on the war. Quintus Cæcilius, consul, received his army from Caius Nero; Lucius Veturius, his from Quintus Claudius, propretor, he filling it up with the new levies which himself had raised. They led their forces into the territory of Consentia. Here, having made great ravages, the troops, now loaded with spoil, were thrown into such confusion, in a narrow pass, by some Bruttians and Numidian spearmen, that not only that spoil but themselves were in extreme danger. However, there was more tumult than fighting; the booty was sent forward, and the legions without loss made their way to places of safety. From thence they advanced against the Lucanians, which whole nation returned without a contest into subjection to the Roman people.

12. No action took place during that year between them and Hannibal; for the Carthaginian, after the deep wound so lately given both to his own private and to the public welfare, cautiously avoided throwing himself in their way; and the Romans did not choose to rouse him from his inactivity: such powers did they suppose that leader possessed of, in his single person, though all things round him were falling into ruin. In truth, I know not whether he was more deserving of admiration in adversity or in prosperity; considering that, though he carried on war for thirteen years, and that in an enemy's territory so far from home, with various success, with an army not composed of his own countrymen, but made up of the refuse of all nations, who had neither law, nor custom, nor language in common; who were of different stature, had different garb, different arms, different rites, and almost different gods; yet he so bound them together by some common tie, that neither among themselves nor against their commander did any sedition ever appear, although, in a hostile country, he often wanted both money to pay them and provisions also,—wants which, in the former Punic war, had occasioned many distressful scenes between the generals and their men. But

after the destruction of Hasdrubal and his army, on whom he had reposed all his hopes of victory, and when he had given up the possession of all the rest of Italy, and withdrawn into a corner of Bruttium, must it not appear wonderful to all that no disturbance arose in his camp? for there was this afflicting circumstance in addition to all his other difficulties, that he had no hope of being able even to procure food for his soldiers, except from the lands of Bruttium; which, if they were intirely under tillage, were too small for the support of so large an army. Besides, the war had employed a great part of the young men, and carried them away from the cultivation of the grounds; a base practice likewise prevailing through the whole nation, of making plundering excursions on every side; nor were there any remittances made him from home, where the whole attention of the public was engaged in endeavoring to keep possession of Spain, as if affairs in Italy were all in a state of prosperity. In the former, the fortune of the parties was in one respect the same; in another, widely different: the same so far, that the Carthaginians, being defeated in battle, and having lost their general, had been driven to the remotest coast of the country, even to the ocean; but different in this, that Spain, in the nature both of the ground and of the inhabitants, affords greater conveniences for reviving a war, not only than Italy, but than any other part of the world; and that was the reason, that although this was the first of all the provinces on the continent in which the Romans got footing, yet it was the last subdued; and that not until the present age, under the conduct and auspices of Augustus Cæsar. In this country Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, a general of the greatest abilities and character next to the Barcine family, returning now from Gades, and being encouraged to a renewal of the war by Mago, the son of Hamilcar, armed to the number of fifty thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse, by levies made in the Farther Spain. In the number of his cavalry authors are pretty well agreed; of the

infantry, according to some, there were seventy thousand led to the city of Silpia. There the two Carthaginian generals sat down in an extensive plain, determined not to avoid a battle.

13. When Scipio received the account of the army being assembled, he saw plainly that, with the Roman legions alone, he could not oppose so great a multitude; nor without using the auxiliary troops of the barbarians, at least for the purpose of making a show of strength; but that, at the same time, it was highly improper that they should compose such a proportion of his force as might enable them, by changing sides, to produce consequences of importance—an event which had caused the destruction of his father and uncle. Sending forward therefore Silanus to Colca, who was sovereign of twenty-eight towns, to receive from him the horse and foot which he had engaged to raise during the winter, he set out himself from Tarraco, and, collecting small bodies of auxiliaries from the allies who lay near his road, proceeded to Castulo. Hither Silanus brought three thousand auxiliary foot and five hundred horse. From thence he advanced to the city of Bæcula, his army amounting, in the whole, of his countrymen and allies, horse and foot, to forty-five thousand. While they were forming their camp Mago and Masinissa, with the whole of their cavalry, made an attack on them, and would have dispersed the workmen, had not some horsemen whom Scipio had concealed behind a hill, conveniently situated for the purpose, suddenly rushed out as they advanced to the charge. These, at the first onset, routed all who had pushed on foremost against the men employed in the fortification. The contest with the rest, who advanced on their march drawn up in regular order, was longer, and for some time doubtful. But the light cohorts from the outposts, the soldiers called off from the works, and afterwards greater numbers, who were ordered to take arms, came up fresh, and engaged the wearied enemy. At the same time a large body rushed in arms from the camp to battle. The Carthaginians

and Numidians then fairly turned their backs; and though at first they retreated in troops, and without breaking their ranks, yet when the Romans fell furiously on their rear they thought no more of order, but fled precipitately, and dispersed into such places as each found convenient. Although by this battle the spirits of the Romans were somewhat raised, and those of the enemy depressed, yet for several following days the horsemen and light troops were continually engaged in skirmishes.

14. After making trial of their strength in these slight engagements, Hasdrubal led out his forces to the field; then the Romans marched out. Both armies stood in order of battle under their respective ramparts, neither party choosing to begin the attack; when it was near sunset, the Carthaginians first, and then the Romans, marched back into camp. They acted in the same manner for several days, the Carthaginian always drawing out his troops first, and first giving the signal of retreat, when they were fatigued with standing. Neither side advanced in the least, nor was a weapon discharged, nor a word uttered. The centre divisions of their lines were composed, on one side, of Romans; on the other of Carthaginians and African auxiliaries: the wings were formed by the allies, who on both sides were Spaniards. In front of the Carthaginian line the elephants at a distance appeared like castles. It was now generally said in both camps that they were to engage in the same order in which they had stood before; and that their centres, consisting of Romans and Carthaginians, who were principals in the war, would no doubt encounter each other with equal courage and strength of arms. When Scipio understood that this opinion was firmly entertained, he took care to alter the whole plan against the day on which he intended to fight. On the preceding evening, therefore, he gave out orders through the camp that the men and horses should be refreshed and accounted before day; and that the horsemen, ready armed, should keep their horses bridled and saddled. Before it was

clear day he despatched all the cavalry and light infantry, with orders to charge the Carthaginian outposts; and immediately advanced himself with the heavy body of the legions, having, contrary to the expectation both of his own men and the enemy, strengthened the wings with his Roman troops, and drawn the allies into the centre. Hasdrubal was alarmed by the shout of the cavalry, and, springing out from his tent, saw a bustle before the rampart, his men in hurry and confusion, the glittering standards of the legions at a distance, and the plain filled with troops. He immediately despatched all his cavalry against that of the enemy, marching himself from out of the camp with the body of infantry; but, in drawing up his line, he made no alteration in the original disposition. The contest between the horse had continued a long time doubtful, nor could they decide it by their own efforts, because, when either were repulsed, which happened to both in turn, they found a safe refuge among the infantry. But, when the armies had approached within five hundred paces of each other, Scipio, giving the signal for retreat, and opening his files, received all the cavalry and light troops through them; and, forming them in two divisions, placed them in reserve behind the wings. When he saw that it was time to begin the engagement, he ordered the Spaniards who composed the centre to advance with a slow pace, and sent directions from the right wing, where he commanded in person, to Silanus and Marcius, to extend their wing on the left, in the same manner as they should see him stretching on the right, and attack the enemy with the light-armed forces of horse and foot before the centre could close. The wings extending in this manner, three cohorts of foot, and three troops of horse from each, together with the light infantry, advanced briskly against the enemy, while the rest followed them in an oblique direction. There was a bending in the centre, because the battalions of Spaniards advanced slower than the wings, and the wings had already encountered, while the principal strength of the enemy's line, the Cartha-

ginian veterans and Africans, were still at such a distance, that they could not throw their javelins with effect, nor did they dare to make detachments to the wings, to support those who were engaged, for fear of opening the centre to the forces advancing against it. The Carthaginian wings were hard pressed, being attacked on all sides; for the horse and foot, together with the light infantry, wheeling round, fell in on their flanks, while the cohorts pressed on them in front, in order to separate the wings from the rest of the line.

15. The battle was now very unequal in all parts: not only because an irregular multitude of Balearians and undisciplined Spanish recruits were opposed to the Roman and Latin troops, but, as the day advanced, Hasdrubal's troops began to grow faint, having been surprised by the alarm in the morning, and obliged to hasten out to the field before they could take food to support their strength. With a view to this, Scipio had taken care to create delay, for it was not until the seventh hour that the battalions of foot fell on the wings, and the battle reached the centre somewhat later; so that, before the enemy began regularly to engage, they were enfeebled by the heat of the meridian sun, the labor of standing under arms, and by hunger and thirst, distressing them at once. They stood, therefore, leaning on their shields; for, in addition to their other misfortunes, the elephants, terrified at the desultory manner of fighting used by the horse and the light infantry, had thrown themselves from the wings on the centre. Harassed thus greatly, both in body and mind, they began to give way, but still preserved their ranks as if the whole army were retreating by order of the general. The victors perceiving the superiority which they had gained, redoubled the fury of their assault on all sides, so that the shock could hardly be sustained. Hasdrubal, however, endeavored to stop his men, crying out that 'the hills in the rear would afford a safe refuge, if they would but retreat without hurry;' yet fear overcame their shame, and although such as were nearest the enemy still con-

tinued to fight, they quickly turned their backs, and all betook themselves to a hasty flight. They halted however for a time at the foot of the hills, endeavoring to restore order, while the Romans hesitated to advance their line against the opposite steep. But, when they saw the battalions pressing forward briskly, they renewed their flight, and were driven in a panic within their works. The Romans were not far from the rampart; and continuing their efforts, had nearly surmounted it, when such a quantity of rain poured suddenly down, that it was with difficulty they regained their camp. The sun, too, had been excessively hot, as is usually the case when shining forth from among clouds surcharged with water; which added greatly to the fatigues of the day. Some were even seized with a religious scruple against attempting any thing farther at that time. Though both night and the rain invited the Carthaginians to take the repose so necessary to them, yet fear and the impending danger would not admit of it; and as they had reason to expect an assault from the enemy at the first light, they raised the height of the rampart with stones collected from the adjacent valleys, endeavoring to secure themselves by fortifications, since they found no protection in their arms. But the desertion of their allies soon gave them reason to think that it was the safer way to fly. The beginning of this revolt arose from Attanes, prince of the Turdetans, who deserted with a great number of his countrymen; and afterwards, two fortified towns, with their garrisons, were delivered to the Romans by their commanders. Hasdrubal, dreading, since a disposition to throw off the Carthaginian yoke had once seized their minds, that the evil might spread farther, decamped during the silence of the ensuing night.

16. At the first light, the outguards having brought intelligence of the enemy's departure, Scipio, sending forward the cavalry, gave orders to the army to march; and these were executed with such expedition that, had they directly pursued the track of the fugitives, they had certainly overtaken them; but they were

persuaded by their guides that there was another and a shorter road to the river Bætis, and where, it was said, they might attack them in their passage. Hasdrubal finding the ford in possession of the enemy, changed his course, directing it towards the ocean; his army now retreating with precipitancy, so that the Roman legions were left at some distance behind. However, the horse and the light infantry harassed and delayed them, by attacking sometimes their rear, sometimes their flanks; and as they were obliged to halt frequently, on occasion of these interruptions, and to support the attacks, at one time of the horse, at another of the infantry and auxiliary foot, they were overtaken by the legions. The consequence was, not a fight, but a carnage as of cattle; until at length the general himself, setting the example of a flight, made his escape to the adjacent hills with about six thousand men half armed: the rest were either slain or taken prisoners. The Carthaginians hastily fortified an irregular camp on the highest part of the ground, and defended themselves there without difficulty, the enemy in vain attempting to climb so difficult an ascent. But a blockade, in a place naked and destitute, was hardly to be supported, even for a few days: desertions to the Roman, therefore, were frequent. Hasdrubal having at length procured some ships, and the sea being not far distant, left his army in the night, and fled to Gades. When Scipio was informed of the flight of the general, leaving ten thousand foot and one thousand horse with Silanus for the blockade of the camp, he returned himself with the rest of the forces to Tarraco, where he arrived after a march of seventy days; during which he was employed in examining into the conduct of the petty princes and states, in order that their rewards might be proportioned according to a just estimate of their merits. After his departure, Masinissa having held a private conference with Silanus, passed over with a few of his countrymen into Africa, in order to bring his own nation to participate in the design which he had newly formed. The cause of his sudden change

was not at that time well known; but the inviolable fidelity which he ever afterwards preserved towards Rome, through the whole course of a very long life, is sufficient proof that he did not, even then, act without a reasonable motive. Mago went to Gades in the ships which had been sent back by Hasdrubal. Of the rest, thus abandoned by their generals, some deserted, others fled and dispersed through the neighboring states; no detachment remaining, considerable either for number or strength. These were the principal events, in consequence of which, under the conduct and auspices of Publius Scipio, the Carthaginians were compelled to relinquish all footing in Spain, in the thirteenth year from the commencement of hostilities, the fifth from Scipio's having received the command of the province and of the army. Not long after, Silanus returned to Scipio at Tarraco, with information that the war was at an end.

17. Lucius Scipio was employed in conveying to Rome a great many prisoners of distinction, and in carrying the news of the reduction of Spain. While this was considered by all others as a most joyful and glorious event, he alone, by whose means it had been accomplished, insatiable in his pursuit of glory, considered it as a trifle in comparison with those designs which his aspiring mind and sanguine hopes prompted him to conceive. He now directed his views to Africa, regarding the subjugation of Carthage, in all her grandeur, as the consummation of his renown. Deeming it necessary, therefore, to conciliate the friendship of the several African kings and people, he resolved to make the first trial of Syphax, king of the Massæsylians,—a nation bordering on Mauritania, and lying opposite to that part of Spain, particularly where New Carthage stands. There was an alliance at that time subsisting between this monarch and the Carthaginians. Supposing him, however, not more firmly attached than barbarians usually are, whose fidelity always depends on fortune, Scipio despatched Lælius to him as envoy, with proper presents. Syphax, highly delighted with

these, and considering that the Romans were at that time every where successful, the Carthaginians unfortunate in Italy, and quite excluded from Spain, consented to embrace the friendship of the Romans, but refused to exchange the ratification of the treaty except with the Roman general in person. Lælius then returned to Scipio, having obtained from the king an engagement merely of safe conduct for him. To him, who aimed at conquests in Africa, the friendship of Syphax was, in every respect, of the utmost importance: he was the most powerful prince in that part of the world, had already opposed even the Carthaginians in war, while his dominions lay very conveniently with respect to Spain, from which they are separated by a narrow strait. Scipio thought the affair of such moment as to warrant the attempt, though attended with considerable danger, since otherwise it could not be accomplished. Leaving therefore, for the security of Spain, Lucius Marcius at Tarraco, and Marcus Silanus at New Carthage (to which place he himself had made a hasty journey by land), and setting sail from Carthage with Caius Lælius, in two galleys of five banks, he passed over to Africa, while the sea was so calm that they generally used their oars, though sometimes they were assisted by a gentle breeze. It happened that Hasdrubal, at the very same time, after having been driven out of Spain, had entered the harbor with seven galleys of three banks, and having cast anchor, was mooring his ships. On sight of these two five-banked ships, although no one doubted that they belonged to the Romans, and might be overpowered by superior numbers before they entered the harbor, yet nothing ensued except tumult and confusion among the soldiers and sailors, endeavoring to no purpose to get their arms and ships in readiness; for the quinqueremes, having their sails filled by a brisk gale from the sea, were carried into the harbor before the Carthaginians could weigh their anchors, and afterwards they dared not to raise a disturbance in the king's port. Having landed, therefore,

they proceeded, Hasdrubal first, then Scipio and Lælius, on their way to the king.

18. Syphax considered this as a very honorable circumstance, as it really was, that the generals of the two most powerful states of the age should come on the same day to solicit peace and friendship with him. He invited them both to his palace, and as chance had so ordered that they were under the same roof, and in the protection of the same household gods, he endeavored to bring them to a conference, for the purpose of putting an end to the enmity subsisting between them. Scipio declared that in his private capacity he had not the least ill-will to the Carthaginian, which might require a conference to remove it; and with regard to public affairs, he could not enter into any negotiation with an enemy without orders from the senate. However, the king showing an earnest desire that he should come to the same table, so that neither of his guests might seem to be excluded, he did not refuse; and they there supped together. Scipio and Hasdrubal, perceiving that it would be agreeable to their entertainer, even reclined on the same couch during the repast; and so pleasing were the manners of the former, such his pliability on every occasion, and such his engaging conversation, that he acquired the esteem not only of Syphax, a barbarian unacquainted with Roman habits, but even of his inveterate enemy, who declared publicly, that 'he appeared, on acquaintance, more worthy of admiration for his powers in conversation, than for his exploits in war; that he made no doubt but Syphax and his kingdom would soon be under the direction of the Romans. Such address was that man possessed of, in acquiring an ascendancy over people's minds, that the Carthaginians were not more intent at present in inquiring how Spain had been lost, than how they were to retain possession of Africa. That it was not for the sake of travelling, or in the pursuit of pleasure, that so great a general, quitting a province but lately subdued, and leaving his armies, had passed over into Africa with only two

ships, intrusting himself, in an enemy's country, to the power of the king, and to his fidelity, as yet untried. Scipio had formed the scheme of subduing their people, had long entertained this design, and had openly expressed his regret that he was not carrying on war in Africa, as Hannibal was in Italy.' The league, however, being ratified with Syphax, Scipio set sail; and after being tossed a good deal during the voyage, by variable and generally boisterous winds, he made the harbor of New Carthage on the fourth day.

19. As Spain had now rest from the Carthaginian war, so it was manifest that some states remained quiet rather through fear, arising from the consciousness of misbehavior, than through sincere attachment. The most remarkable of these, both in greatness and in guilt, were Illiturgi and Castulo. The inhabitants of Castulo, allies of the Romans while they were successful, had, on the destruction of the first Scipios and their armies, revolted to the Carthaginians. Those of Illiturgi, by betraying and killing such as had fled to them after that calamity, had added barbarity to revolt. To have executed severe vengeance on those states, at Scipio's first coming, when affairs in Spain were in a precarious state, would have been more suited to their demerits than agreeable to principles of sound policy; but now, when affairs were in a state of tranquillity, the proper time for inflicting punishment seemed to have arrived. He therefore sent for Lucius Marcius from Tarraco, and despatching him with a third part of the forces to besiege Castulo, he went himself with the rest of the army against Illiturgi, where he arrived on the fifth day. The gates there had been already shut, and every precaution taken, and preparation made for repelling an attack; so far had their consciousness of what they merited served them instead of a declaration of war. Hence Scipio took occasion to represent, in an exhortation to his soldiers, 'that the Spaniards themselves, by shutting their gates, had shown what, in justice, they had reason to apprehend; that they ought, therefore, to

entertain a much greater animosity against them than against the Carthaginians; for, with the latter, the contest was for empire and glory, almost without resentment, but the former they were called on to punish both for perfidy and cruelty. That the time was now come when they were to take vengeance for the horrid murder of their fellow-soldiers, and for the treachery ready to be executed on themselves also, had they happened to fly to the same place; and, by a severe example, to establish it as a maxim to all future ages, that no Roman citizen or soldier, in any state of fortune, should be injured with impunity.' Their rage being excited by this harangue, they distributed the scaling ladders to chosen men in each company; and the army being divided into two parts, one of which Lælius, lieutenant-general, was to command, they assaulted the city in two places at once, striking terror into the assailed by the twofold danger to which they were exposed. It was not one leader, or a number of chiefs, but their own violent apprehensions, in consequence of their guilt, that induced the inhabitants to make a vigorous defence; they were fully sensible, and they reminded each other, that 'their punishment, not a victory, was the object aimed at: that the matter for present consideration was, where they should choose to meet death, whether in the field and in fight, where the chance of war, equal to both parties, often raises the vanquished, and pulls down the conqueror; or whether after seeing their city burned and demolished, and after suffering every indignity and disgrace, they should expire among chains and stripes, in the presence of their captive wives and children.' Therefore, not only those who were of an age to bear arms, or the men alone, but women and boys added exertions beyond the strength of their minds or bodies, supplying with weapons those who were engaged in the fight, and carrying stones to the walls for others who were strengthening the works; for beside that their liberty was at stake, and by which the brave are powerfully excited, the extreme severity of punish-

ment which they must all expect, with a disgraceful death, were before their eyes. Farther, their courage was inflamed by mutual emulation in toil and danger, and even by the sight of each other. Thus animated, they opposed the enemy with such determined bravery, that the army which had subdued all Spain was often repulsed from the walls, and began, in a contest with the youth of a single town, not much to their honor, to abate of their ardor. Scipio perceiving this, and dreading lest by these unsuccessful attempts the courage of the enemy should be raised, and his own men dispirited, thought it necessary to exert himself in person, and take a share in the danger. Whereon, reprimanding the troops for their want of spirit, he ordered ladders to be brought to him, threatening to mount the wall himself, since the rest were backward; and, accordingly, he had already advanced near it, and not without danger, when a shout was raised on all sides by the soldiers, alarmed at the situation of the general, and the scalade was attempted at once. Lælius, too, pressed on at the other side. The inhabitants were then no longer able to make opposition, and those who defended the walls being beaten off, the Romans took possession of them.

20. The citadel, too, during the tumult, being attacked on that side where it was thought impregnable, was taken. While the inhabitants were engaged in defence of those places where the danger appeared, and the Romans, in making greater approaches where they found it practicable, some African deserters, who were then among the Roman auxiliaries, observed, that the most elevated part of the town, though protected by a very high rock, was neither secured by any works, nor provided with men for its defence. As they were light of body, and very active from constant exercise, carrying iron spears along with them, they climbed up, by means of the irregular prominences of the rock; and when they met with a cliff too high and smooth, by driving in the spikes at moderate distances, they formed a kind of steps. In this manner, the fore-

most drawing up by the hand those who followed, and the hindmost lifting up those before them, they made their way to the summit; and from thence, with loud shouts, poured down into the city, which had been already taken by the Romans. Then it plainly appeared that resentment and hatred had been the motives of the assault: no one thought of taking prisoners, no one thought of booty, though the objects lay before their eyes. The armed and unarmed were slain without distinction, women and men promiscuously; the cruel rage of the soldiers proceeded even to slaying of infants. They then set fire to the houses, and what could not be thus destroyed, they levelled to the ground; so earnest were they to erase every trace of the city, and to abolish every mark of the enemy's residence. Scipio from thence led his army to Castulo, which was defended by a great concourse of Spaniards, and also by the remains of the Carthaginian army, collected from the places whither they had dispersed in their flight. But the news of the calamities of the Illiturgians had preceded the arrival of Scipio, and thrown the garrison into fright and despair; and as they were differently circumstanced, while each party wished to provide for their own safety, without regard to the rest, at first silent suspicion, afterwards open discord, ensued, and caused a separation between the Carthaginians and Spaniards. Cerdubellus openly advised the latter to surrender. Himilco commanded the Carthaginian garrison auxiliaries, who, together with the city, were delivered up to the Romans by Cerdubellus, after he had privately made terms for himself. This victory was not followed with so much severity; the guilt of this people not having been so great as that of the former, and their voluntary surrender mitigating, in some degree, the resentment against them.

21. Marcius proceeded from thence, in order to reduce to obedience such of the barbarians as had not been completely subdued. Scipio returned to New Carthage, in order to pay his vows to the gods, and to

exhibit a show of gladiators, which he had prepared in commemoration of the death of his father and uncle. The combatants exhibited on this occasion were not of that sort which the lanistæ are wont to procure, a collection of slaves, or such free men as are base enough to set their blood to sale. Every champion here gave his service voluntarily, and without reward; for some were sent by the princes of the country to show a specimen of the bravery natural to their nation; some declared that they would fight to oblige the general; some were led by emulation and a desire of superiority to send challenges; and those who were challenged, from the same motive, did not decline them; some decided by the sword controversies which they could not, or would not, determine by arbitration, having agreed between themselves that the matter in dispute should be the property of the conqueror. Not only people of obscure condition, but men of character and distinction; Corbis and Orsua, for instance, cousins-german, having a dispute about the sovereignty of a city called Ibis, determined to decide it with the sword. Corbis had the advantage in regard to years. The father of Orsua, however, had been last on the throne, having succeeded to it on the death of his elder brother. Scipio endeavored to accommodate the matter by calm discussion, and to assuage their resentment; but they both affirmed that they had refused to submit it to their common relations, and that they would have no other judge, neither god nor man, but Mars. They severally preferred death in fight to a submission to the other's authority, the elder confident in his strength, the younger in his activity; and so determined was their rage, that it was impossible to reconcile them. They afforded an extraordinary spectacle to the army, and a striking example of the evils occasioned by ambition. The elder, by experience in arms and superior skill, easily vanquished the ill-managed valor of the younger. To this exhibition of gladiators were added funeral games, conducted with as much magnificence as the province and the camp could supply.

22. While Scipio was thus employed, operations were carried on by his lieutenant Marcius, who, having passed the river Bætis, which the natives call Cértis, got possession of two wealthy cities, by surrender without a contest. There was another called Astapa, which had always taken part with the Carthaginians; but that circumstance did not so much call for resentment, as from their having acted towards the Romans with an extraordinary degree of animosity, beyond what the exigences of the war could warrant. This was the more surprising, as they had no city so secured, either by situation or fortification, as that it might encourage such fierceness of temper; but the disposition of the inhabitants delighting in plunder, led them to make incursions into the neighboring lands belonging to the allies of the Roman people, and even to seize on small parties of soldiers, together with the sutlers and traders. A large detachment also, which was attempting to pass through their territory, was surrounded by an ambuscade, and put to death in a place where they could not defend themselves. As soon as the army approached to besiege the city, the inhabitants, conscious of their crimes, saw no prospect of safety in surrendering to a people so highly provoked; and as their fortifications were in such a state that they could not greatly hope to defend themselves by arms, they contrived a plan of the most shocking and savage nature, which they agreed to execute on themselves and their families. They fixed on a part of the forum, into which they brought together all their most valuable effects, and having made their wives and children seat themselves on this heap, they piled up timber all round it, and threw on it abundance of faggots. They then gave a charge to fifty young men in arms, that 'as long as the issue of the fight should be uncertain, they should carefully guard in that spot the fortunes of all, and the persons of those who were dearer to them than their fortunes. Should they perceive that their friends were worsted, and that the city was likely to be taken, that then they might be

assured that every one whom they saw going out to battle would meet death in the engagement. They then besought them, by the deities celestial and infernal, that mindful of their liberty, which must terminate on that day either in an honorable death or disgraceful slavery, they would leave no object on which the enraged enemy could vent their fury. That they had fire and swords at their command; and that it were better that their friendly and faithful hands should consume those things which must necessarily perish, than that the foe should insult over them with haughty scorn.' To these exhortations they added dreadful imprecations against any who should be diverted from their purpose, either by hope or tenderness; and then with rapid speed and violent impetuosity they rushed out through the open gates. There was none of the outposts strong enough to withstand them, because nothing could have been less apprehended than that they should dare to come out of the fortifications; a very few troops of horse, and the light infantry, despatched in haste from the camp, threw themselves in their way. The encounter was furious, owing more to their impetuosity and resolution than to any regular disposition. The horse, therefore, which had first engaged, being discomfited, communicated the terror to the light infantry; and the battle would have reached to the very rampart, had not the main body of the legions drawn out their line, though there was very little time allowed them for forming. Even among their battalions there was some confusion; while the Astapans, blinded with fury, rushed on against men and weapons with the most daring insensibility of danger. But in a short time the veteran soldiers, too steady to be disturbed by such rash attacks, by killing the foremost, stopped the advance of the next. Afterwards, when they endeavored to gain on them, finding that not a man gave way, but that they were obstinately determined to die, they extended their line, which their numbers enabled them to do with ease; they then surrounded the flanks

of these desperates, who, forming into a circle, and continuing the fight, were slain to a man.

23. This severity, executed by an enraged enemy on those who opposed them in arms, especially as they were at the time engaged in hostilities with another people, was not inconsistent with the laws of war. But the more shocking havoc was in the city, where a weak unarmed crowd of women and children were assailed by their own countrymen, who tossed their almost lifeless bodies on the burning pile, while streams of blood kept down the rising flames, and who at last, wearied with the wretched slaughter of their friends, cast themselves with their arms into the midst of the fire. Just as the carnage was completed the victorious Romans arrived. On the first sight of such a horrid transaction, they were for a time struck motionless with astonishment; but afterwards, on seeing the gold and silver glittering between the heaps of other matters, with the greediness natural to mankind, they wished to snatch them out of the burning heap. In attempting this, some were caught by the flames, others scorched by blasts of the heat, the foremost finding it impracticable to make a retreat against the press of so great a crowd. Thus was Astapa utterly destroyed by fire and sword, and without enriching the soldiers with booty. All the other inhabitants of that district, terrified at this event, made their submissions. Marcius led back his victorious army to join Scipio at Carthage. Just at the same time some deserters arrived from Gades, who promised to deliver up the city, the Carthaginian garrison, and the commander of the garrison, together with the fleet. Mago had halted there after his flight; and having collected a few ships from the ocean adjoining, and, with the assistance of Hanno his lieutenant, assembled others from the nearest parts of Spain, had brought some supplies from the coast of Africa. Terms being adjusted with the deserters, and ratified on both sides, Marcius was despatched thither with some cohorts equipped for expedition, and Lælius also, with seven three-banked

and one five-banked galley, that they might act in concert both by land and sea in the execution of the business.

24. Scipio was seized with a severe fit of sickness; and the danger being magnified by report, (every one, through the natural propensity to exaggeration, adding something to what he had heard,) the whole province, more especially the distant parts of it, were thrown into disorder; which showed what important consequences must have attended the real loss of him, when the rumor of his illness alone could excite such storms. Neither the allies continued faithful, nor the army obedient to command. Mandonius and Indibilis, who had entertained confident expectations that, on the expulsion of the Carthaginians, the dominion of Spain would fall into their hands, being intirely disappointed in all their hopes, called together their countrymen of Laceta and Illiturgi; sent for the young men of Celtiberia to assist them, and carried hostilities and devastation into the territories of the Suesetanians and Sedetanians, allies of the Roman people. Another commotion arose in the camp at Suero, where there were eight thousand Romans stationed to secure the obedience of the nations bordering on the Iberus. Their disposition to mutiny did not take its rise from the uncertain accounts of the general's life being in danger; it had sprung up some time before, from the licentiousness incident to a long state of inaction, and partly from their circumstances being straitened during peace, having been accustomed during the war to live more plentifully on plunder. At first they only expressed their dissatisfaction in private discourses: 'If there was a war in the province, what business had they there, among people who were at peace? If the war was already ended, why were they not carried back to Italy?' They also demanded their pay with a peremptoriness unbecoming the condition of soldiers, while those on guard used to throw out abuse on the tribunes as they went their nightly rounds. Favored by the darkness, some had even gone out and plundered the

peaceable country round: and at length they used to quit their standards without leave, openly, and in the day-time. In a word, every thing was directed by the licentious humor of the soldiery, nothing by the rules and discipline of war, or the commands of the officers. The form however of a Roman camp was preserved, merely on account of the hope which they entertained that the tribunes would be infected with their madness, and become sharers in their mutiny and revolt. They therefore permitted them to hold their courts at the tribunals; they applied to them for the watchword, and mounted guards and watches in their turn; and as they had taken away all the power of command, so, by submitting from choice to the usual duties, they kept up the appearance of obedience to orders. But when they found that the tribunes disapproved and blamed their proceedings, that they endeavored to put a stop to them, and openly refused to assist in their designs, the mutiny then burst out; and having, by violence, driven the tribunes from their stands, and soon after from the camp, with the unanimous approbation of the whole body, they bestowed the supreme command on Caius Albius of Cales, and Caius Atrius of Umbria, common soldiers, who were the principal movers of the sedition. These men, not satisfied with the ornaments used by tribunes, had the assurance to lay hold of the badges of supreme command, the rods and axes; never considering that their own backs and necks were in danger from those very rods and axes which they carried before them to strike terror into others. Their groundless belief of Scipio's death blinded their understandings; and they entertained not a doubt that, on the news of that event, which would soon be generally known, the flames of war would break out in every part of Spain: that during this confusion money might be exacted from the allies, and the neighboring cities plundered; and that the disturbances being general, and all men acting without restraint, their own behavior would be the less liable to observation.

..25. No accounts of the death of Scipio being re-

ceived, the rumor which had been inconsiderately propagated began to die away. They then began to inquire for the first authors of it; but every one threw it off from himself, that he might appear rather to have believed rashly than to have been the contriver of the fiction. The leaders, now forsaken, began to dread even their own badges of office, and considered with terror the real and just authority which was about to take place of the empty show of command which they possessed, and which would doubtless be exerted to their destruction. While the mutiny was at a stand through the amazement of the soldiers, on receiving undoubted intelligence, first, that Scipio was alive, and afterwards, that he was in good health, seven military tribunes, despatched by himself, arrived in the camp. On their coming the mutineers were at first exasperated, but they were soon softened by the mild and soothing language in which these addressed such of their acquaintances as they met: for, at first going round the tents, and then in the public tribunals, and in the pretorium, wherever they observed circles of soldiers engaged in conversation, they accosted them in such a manner as carried the appearance rather of an inquiry into the cause of their resentment and sudden disorder, than of throwing any blame on what had passed. The reasons generally alleged were, that 'they had not received their pay regularly; although, at the time of the horrid transaction at Illiturgi, and after the utter destruction of the two generals and their two armies, it was by their bravery that the Roman name had been supported and the province secured: that the people of Illiturgi had indeed met with the punishment due to their guilt, but their meritorious conduct had remained unrewarded.' The tribunes answered, that 'in these remonstrances their requests were founded in justice, and should be laid before the general; that they were highly pleased to find that there was nothing in their case more grievous or incurable; and that, by the favor of the gods, they had both Publius Scipio and the state to reward their merit.' Sci-

pio, well practised in wars, but utterly unacquainted with the storms of intestine commotions, was filled with anxiety on the occasion, fearing lest the army should exceed all bounds in transgressing, or himself in punishing. For the present, he resolved to proceed as he had begun, by gentle measures: having therefore despatched collectors through the tributary states, he received reason to hope to be soon able to discharge the arrears. An order was then published, that the troops should come to Carthage to receive their pay, either in separate divisions or in one body, as they should choose. The mutiny, of itself abating in violence among the Romans, was reduced to a state of perfect tranquillity by the measures which the rebellious Spaniards suddenly adopted. Mandonius and Indibilis, on receiving information that Scipio was alive, desisted from their undertaking, and returned into their own country, as there was now remaining neither countrymen nor foreigner to whom they could look up for a concurrence in their desperate scheme. The soldiers, after revolving every plan, were of opinion that they had nothing left, except (what is not always the safest retreat from bad counsels) the submitting themselves either to the just anger of the general, or to his clemency, of which it was thought they need not despair. 'He had pardoned even enemies, with whom he had been engaged in battle: their mutiny had not been attended with any serious consequences; no lives had been lost, nor had any blood been shed: therefore, as it had not in itself been violent, it merited not a violent punishment.' Men's minds are generally ingenious in palliating guilt in themselves. They only hesitated, then, whether they should go and demand their pay in single cohorts or in a body. The majority voted that, as the safer way, they should proceed in a body.

26. Whilst they were employed in these deliberations a council was held at Carthage concerning them; the members of which were divided in opinion, whether the authors only of the mutiny, who were not more

than thirty-five, should be punished; or whether it was not necessary that what ought to be called a revolt rather than a mutiny, and afforded such a dangerous example, should be expiated by the punishment of a greater number. The milder opinion prevailed, that the punishment should be confined to those who were the instigators to it, and that for the multitude a reprimand was sufficient. As soon as the council was dismissed orders were issued to the army which was in Carthage to prepare for an expedition against Mandonius and Indibilis, and to get ready provisions for several days, in order that people might think that this had been the business of the meeting. Then the seven tribunes, who had before gone to Sucro to quell the disturbance, were again sent out to gather farther information on the matter, when each of them made a return of five names of the leaders of it; with the intent that proper persons, appointed for the purpose, should invite these, with friendly countenance and discourse, to their lodgings, and that there, when stupefied with wine, they might be secured in chains. When they came near Carthage they heard, from some persons on the road, that the whole army was to set out next day, with Marcus Silanus, against the Lacetaniens, which not only freed the disaffected from the apprehensions which, though concealed, lay heavy on their minds, but occasioned great joy amongst them; as they supposed that the general would be left alone, in their power, instead of their being in his. A little before sunset they entered the city, and saw the other army busy in preparations for a march: they were received with discourses framed for the purpose, that 'their coming was highly agreeable and convenient to the general, as it had happened just before the departure of the other army;' after which they retired to refresh themselves. The authors of the mutiny, having been conducted to lodgings by the persons appointed, were, without any tumult, apprehended by the tribunes, and thrown into chains. At the fourth watch, the baggage of that army which, as pretended, was to march, began

to set out. A little before day the troops moved also, but stopped in a body at the gate, whence guards were sent round to all the other avenues, to prevent any one going out of the city. Those who had arrived the day before were then summoned to an assembly, and they ran together into the forum to the general's tribunal in the most turbulent manner, intending to excite terror by their tumultuous shouts. Just as the general was taking his seat the troops, who had been recalled from the gates, spread themselves round, under arms, behind the unarmed assembly. On this all the arrogance of the latter sunk at once; and, as they afterwards confessed, nothing terrified them so much as the unexpected vigor and complexion of the general, whom they had expected to see in a sickly state—his countenance showing more sternness, they said, than they had ever remembered to have seen even in battle. He sat silent for a short time, until he was told that the authors of the mutiny were brought into the forum, and that all things were prepared.

27. Then, a herald having commanded silence, he began thus: 'Never did I imagine that I should be in want of language to address my own army: not that I ever gave more attention to words than to business; for, having lived in camps almost from my childhood, I was ever well acquainted with the soldier's way of thinking. But, with what sentiments, or in what terms, I should speak to you, I am intirely at a loss. I know not even what appellation I ought to give you. Can I call you countrymen, who have revolted from your country; or soldiers, who have renounced obedience to command, and broke through the obligation of your oath; or enemies? I behold, indeed, the persons, faces, habit, mien of my fellow-citizens; but I perceive the actions, words, schemes, dispositions of foes: for what other object did your hopes and wishes aim at, than the same which was proposed by the Illergetians and Lacetans? They however chose for leaders in their mad enterprise Mandonius and Indibilis, men of royal distinction: you conferred su-

preme authority and command on the Umbrian Atrius, and the Calenian Albius. Soldiers, deny that it was the act of you all, or that you all approved of it: assert that it was the madness and folly of a few. I shall willingly give credit to your disavowal; for the crimes committed are of such a nature, that did the guilt of them extend to the whole army, it could not be expiated without very extraordinary atonements. I unwillingly touch those matters, as I should wounds; but unless such are touched and handled, they cannot be cured. After the Carthaginians were expelled from Spain, I really believed that there was not, in the whole province, any one place, or any description of men, to whom my life was not a matter of concern: such had been my conduct, not only towards the allies, but even towards the enemy. And yet even in my own camp, so much was I deceived in my opinion, the report of my death was not only readily believed, but longed for. Not that I wish this behavior should be imputed to you all: I assure you, if I could believe that my whole army wished my death, I would here, this instant, die before your eyes; nor could life afford me any pleasure if it were displeasing to my countrymen and soldiers. But every multitude, like the sea, is incapable of moving itself; the winds and gales put it in motion: thus, when either calms or storms appear in you, all the madness lies in the first advisers. This you have caught by infection: and even this day, you do not seem to me to be sensible to what a pitch of folly you have proceeded, or how heinous your attempts have been with respect to me, how heinous with respect to your country, your parents, and your children; how heinous with respect to the gods, who were witnesses of your oath; how heinous against the practice of the service, the discipline of your ancestors, and the majesty of the supreme authority and rule! With regard to myself, I say nothing. Be it, that you believed the report rather through want of thought, than through a wish that it should be true; and let me even be supposed such a person, that it

were no wonder if the army were weary of my command : yet, what had your country deserved of you, that, by uniting your counsels with Mandonius and Indibilis, you were going to betray it? What had the Roman people merited, when you took away the power from the tribunes appointed by their common suffrage, and conferred it on private men? when, not even content with having them for magistrates, you, a Roman army, bestowed the badges of your generals on men who never had been possessed of so much as a single slave? Albius and Atrius dwelt in the general's pavilion, the trumpets sounded by their orders, the word was taken from them, they sat on the tribunal of Publius Scipio, they were attended by lictors, the way was cleared for them, the rods and axes were carried before them. That it should rain stones, that lightnings should be darted from heaven, and that animals should produce monstrous births, you look on as prodigies. This is a prodigy that can be expiated by no victims, by no supplications, without the blood of those who dared to commit such enormous crimes.

28. 'Now although no wickedness proceeds on any grounds of reason, yet, in a transaction of such atrocity as this, I should be glad to know what was your intention, what your scheme. Formerly, a legion, which had been sent as a garrison to Rhegium, wickedly put to death the principal inhabitants, and kept possession of that opulent city for ten years; for which offence the whole legion, four thousand men, were beheaded in the forum at Rome. These, however, did not put themselves under the command of an Atrius, a man no better than a scullion, whose very name was ominous; but of Decius Jubellius, a military tribune: nor did they join themselves to the enemies of the Roman people, either to the Samnites or Lucanians. You united in counsels with Mandonius and Indibilis, with whom you intended to have united also your arms. Besides, those men expected to hold Rhegium as a lasting settlement, as the Campanians held Capua, after taking it from the ancient Tuscan

inhabitants, and as the Mamertines held Messana in Sicily,—never entertaining a thought of making war on the Roman people or their allies. Did you intend to settle your habitations at Sucro? a place in which, if I your general at my departure, after finishing the business of the province, had left you, and there to remain, you ought to have appealed to gods and men, on not being allowed to return to your wives and children. But supposing that you had banished out of your minds all recollection of them, as you did of your country and of me, let us examine what could be your design, and whether it can be accounted for on the supposition of a depravity of principle, without including also the utmost degree of folly. While I was alive, and the other part of the army safe, with which I took Carthage in one day, with which I vanquished, put to flight, and drove out of Spain, four generals, with four armies of the Carthaginians; could you expect that you, who were but eight thousand men, (all of you of course inferior in worth to Albius and Atrius, since to their command you submitted yourselves,)—could you imagine, I say, that you should be able to wrest the province of Spain out of the hands of the Roman people? I lay no stress on my own name, I put it out of the question, supposing myself no farther ill treated, than in your easily and joyfully giving credit to the report of my death. What! If I were dead; was the state to expire along with me? was the empire of the Roman people to fall with Scipio? Jove, supremely great and good, forbid that the city built for eternity, under the favor and direction of the gods, should last no longer than this frail and mortal body! Although so many illustrious commanders, Flaminius, Paulus, Gracchus, Posthumius, Albinus, Marcus Marcellus, Titus Quintius Crispinus, Cneius Fulvius, my relations the Scipios, have all been lost in one war, yet the Roman people still survive, and will survive, whilst a thousand others perish, some by the sword, some by disease: and must the Roman state have been carried out to burial along

with my single body? You yourselves, here in Spain, when my father and uncle, your two generals, were slain, chose Septimus Marcius your leader against the Carthaginians, exulting in their late victory. I mention this as if Spain would have been without a leader; but would Marcus Silanus, who was sent into the province, invested with the same privileges, the same command with myself; would my brother Lucius Scipio, and Caius Lælius, lieutenants-general, be wanting to avenge the majesty of the empire? Could either the armies, or the leaders, or their dignity, or their cause, admit of a comparison? And even if you were superior to all these, would you bear arms on the side of the Carthaginians, against your country, against your countrymen? Would you wish that Africa should rule over Italy, Carthage over the city of Rome? And for what fault, I would ask, of your nation?

29. 'Coriolanus, provoked by a grievous and undeserved banishment to take up arms against his oppressors, yielded, however, to the call of duty to a parent, and refrained from committing parricide on his country. What grief, what anger had incited you? Was the delay of your pay for a few days, and while your general was sick, sufficient reason for declaring war against your native land? to revolt from the Roman people to the Illergetians? to leave no obligation, divine or human, unviolated? Soldiers, the truth is, you have been mad; nor was the disorder which seized my body more violent than that which seized your minds. It shocks me to mention what such men believed, what they hoped, what they wished. But let all those matters be buried in oblivion, if possible; if not, let them however be covered in silence. I doubt not but my language may appear to you severe and harsh; yet how much more harsh your actions than my words! Do you think it reasonable that I should bear the facts which you have committed, and that you should not have patience to hear them mentioned? But even with these things you shall be re-

proached no farther: I wish you may as easily forget them as I shall. Therefore, as to what concerns you all in general, if you are sorry for your error, I am fully satisfied with the expiation. The Calenian Albius, the Umbrian Atrius, and the other authors of that abominable mutiny, shall atone with their blood for the crime of which they have been guilty; and if you have recovered your sound judgment, the sight of their punishment will not only be not disagreeable, but even pleasing to you, for the tendency of their schemes was as pernicious and destructive to yourselves as to any other persons whatsoever.' Scarcely had he finished his speech, when, according to a plan preconcerted, their eyes and ears were at once assailed by every object of terror. The troops which had formed a circle round the assembly clashed their swords against their shields; the herald's voice was heard citing by name those who had been condemned in the council: they were dragged naked into the midst, and at the same time all the apparatus for death was produced; they were chained to the stake, beaten with rods, and beheaded; the spectators all the while standing so benumbed with fear, that not only no violent expression against the severity of the punishment, but not even a groan was heard. They were then all dragged out, the place was cleared, and their fellows being summoned by their names, took the oath of obedience to Scipio before the tribunes of the soldiers, at the same time receiving their pay. Such was the end and issue of the rising which began at Sucro.

30. About the same time Hanno, Mago's lieutenant, having been sent from Gades with a small body of Africans, had, by tempting the Spaniards with money, collected four thousand young men in arms, near the river Bætis: but being afterwards beaten out of his camp by Lucius Marcius, and having lost the greatest part of his forces in the tumult, and others also in the flight, (his disordered troops having been pursued by the cavalry,) he made his escape with very few at-

tendants. During these transactions on the Bætis, Lælius, sailing through the strait, came with the fleet to Carteja, a city situated on the coast, and where the sea begins to expand itself. There had been hopes of gaining possession of Gades without a contest, by means of a conspiracy of the inhabitants, some of whom came of their own accord to the Roman camp with promises to that effect, as has been mentioned before; but the plot was discovered before it was ripe; and Mago having seized all the conspirators, gave them in charge to Adherbal the pretor, to be conducted to Carthage. Adherbal put them on board a ship of five banks, and sending it off before him, because it sailed slower than any one of three banks, followed himself at a small distance with eight three-banked vessels. The quinquere was just entering the strait, when Lælius, who had sailed in a quinquere also from the harbor of Carteja, attended by seven triremes, bore down on Adherbal and the triremes; taking for granted that the quinquere, once caught in the rapid current of the narrow pass, would not be able to tack about. The Carthaginian, alarmed by this unexpected affair, hesitated for some time whether he should follow the quinquere, or face the enemy. This delay put it out of his power to avoid an engagement, for they were already within a weapon's cast, and the Roman pressing him closely on all sides. The force of the stream, too, had rendered it impossible to manage their ships; nor was the fight like a naval engagement, for nothing was effected either by skill or prudence. The tide, indeed, might be said to have the intire command, for it bore them down, sometimes on their own, sometimes on the Roman vessels, while they were endeavoring in vain to row in a contrary direction; so that a ship which was flying might be seen whirled round by an eddy, and carried full against the conqueror; while another, engaged in pursuit, if it happened to fall into a contrary current, would be turned about as if for flight. Thus one ship aiming a violent stroke of its beak against the hull of

the enemy, being carried itself in an oblique direction, received a blow from the beak of that it had strove to pierce; while that which lay with its side exposed to the assailant was suddenly whirled round, so as to present its prow to them. While the battle between the triremes was thus doubtful and irregular, being governed intirely by chance, the Roman quinquereme, more manageable, either from being steadier on account of its great weight, or from making its way through the eddies by its superior number of rowers, sunk two triremes, and brushing along close by a third, swept off the oars on the one side, handling roughly some others which it had overtaken: but Adherbal crowded sail, and with the five remaining ships escaped to Africa.

31. Lælius returning victorious to Carteja, and having learned there what had passed at Gades, (that the plot had been discovered, the conspirators sent to Carthage, and the hopes which had invited them thither intirely frustrated,) he sent to acquaint Lucius Marcius, that he was of opinion that they ought to return to the general, unless they chose to waste time to no purpose lying before Gades. Marcius assenting, they both returned to Carthage. A few days after, by their departure, Mago not only gained a respite from the dangers which had environed him both by sea and land, but on hearing of the rebellion of the Ilhergetians, he even conceived hopes of recovering Spain. He sent messengers to the senate at Carthage, with instructions to exaggerate both the intestine dissension in the Roman camp, and the defection of the allies; and to exhort them to send such supplies as should enable him to recover the empire of Spain, which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors. Mandonius and Indibilis, returning into their own territories, kept themselves quiet for some time, not knowing what to determine, until they could learn what measures were taken with regard to the mutiny; for if pardon were granted by Scipio to his countrymen, they did not doubt but that it would extend to

themselves. But when the punishment of the offenders came to be known, supposing that their own crime would be thought to demand an equal atonement, they called their countrymen to arms, and re-assembling the auxiliaries which had joined them before, they marched out with twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse into the territory of Sedeta, where, at the beginning of the revolt, they had established a camp.

32. Scipio quickly conciliated the affections of his men by his punctuality in discharging all arrears to the guilty as well as to the innocent, and which was strengthened by the mildness of his discourse, and the benignity of his countenance towards all without distinction. Summoning an assembly on his departure from Carthage, after copious invectives against the perfidy of the petty princes then in rebellion, he declared that 'he was setting out to take vengeance for their crimes, with feelings very different from those which he had lately experienced, while he was applying a remedy to the error of his countrymen; that then he had, with grief and tears, as if cutting his own bowels, expiated either the imprudence or the guilt of eight thousand men by the death of thirty; but now he was proceeding with cheerfulness and confidence to the destruction of the Illergetians: for these were neither born in the same land, nor connected with him by any bond of society; and for the only connexion which had subsisted, that of good faith and friendship, they had wickedly rent it asunder. That there was one circumstance respecting his army which gave him great satisfaction, which was, their being all either of his own country, allies, or of the Latine confederacy: that there was scarcely a single soldier in it who had not been brought thither from Italy, either by his uncle, Cneius Scipio, the first of the Roman name who entered that province, or by his father in his consulate, or by himself: that they were all accustomed to the name and authority of the Scipios: that he wished to carry them home with him to a well-deserved triumph; and that

he entertained confident hopes that they would support his claim to the consulship, as if they were every one of them to share the honor of it. That as to the expedition before them, that man must have forgotten his own exploits who could consider it as a war: for his part, he was really more concerned about Mago, who had fled with a few ships, beyond the limits of the world, into a spot surrounded by the ocean, than about the Illergetians; for on that spot there was a Carthaginian general; and whatever forces might be there, they were Carthaginians. Here was only a band of robbers, and leaders of robbers; who, though they might have courage sufficient for ravaging their neighbors' grounds, burning their houses, and seizing their cattle, would show none in the field, or in regular battle; and who, whenever they should see an enemy, would rely more on their activity for flight, than on their arms. It was not, therefore, because he apprehended any danger from thence that he had determined to suppress the Illergetians before he left the province, but principally that such a heinous revolt should not escape without punishment: and also, that it might not be said that there was one enemy left in a country which had been overrun with such bravery and success. He desired them, therefore, with the favor of the gods, to follow him, not to what could properly be called a war, for the contest was not with a people on an equality with them, but to inflict punishment on a set of criminals.'

33. After this discourse he dismissed them, with orders to prepare for a decampment on the following morning. After a march of ten days, he arrived at the river Iberus, which he passed, and on the fourth day he pitched his camp within sight of the enemy. There was a plain before him, encircled by mountains; into this valley Scipio ordered some cattle, taken mostly from the surrounding lands, to be driven forward, in order to provoke the savage greediness of the barbarians; sending with them some light-armed troops as a guard, and giving orders to Lælius, that as soon

as these should be engaged in skirmishing, he should charge with the cavalry from a place of concealment. A conveniently projecting mountain covered the ambush of the cavalry, and the battle began without delay; for the Spaniards rushed on the cattle as soon as they saw them at a distance, and the light infantry attacked them, occupied with their booty. At first, they endeavored to terrify each other with missive weapons; afterwards, having discharged their light darts, which were fitter to provoke than to decide the fight, they drew their swords, and began to engage foot to foot. The contest between the infantry was doubtful; but the cavalry came up, who, charging straight forward, not only trod down all before them, but some also, wheeling round along the foot of the steep, fell on the enemy's rear, inclosing the greater part of them: so that the number slain was far more considerable than is usual in such kind of engagements. This discomfiture served rather to inflame the rage of the barbarians than depress them. In order therefore to show that they were not dispirited, at the first light on the day following they led out their troops to battle. The valley being narrow, as has been mentioned, could not contain all their forces; so that only about two-thirds of the infantry and all their cavalry came down to the engagement. The remainder of the foot they posted on a hill on one side. Scipio, judging that the narrowness of the ground was a favorable circumstance to him, both because fighting in a confined space seemed better suited to the Roman than the Spanish soldier, and also because the enemy could not completely form their line, turned his thoughts to a new scheme. Finding that he could not extend his cavalry on the wings, and that those of the enemy, whom they had brought out with the infantry, would be useless, he ordered Lælius to lead the cavalry round the hills by the most concealed roads, and to keep separate as much as possible the fight of the cavalry from that between the infantry. He himself led forward the battalions of infantry, placing four cohorts in front, for he could not

greatly extend his line, and without delay began the engagement, in order to divert the enemy's attention, by the hurry of the conflict, from Lælius' detachment, who were advancing from among the hills. In this they succeeded, for the Spaniards were unconscious of their coming, until they heard the tumult of the fight between them and their own cavalry on the rear. Thus there were two different battles; two lines of foot, and two bodies of horse, were engaged along the extent of the plain, the circumscribed ground not allowing them to be composed of both together. On the side of the Spaniards, as neither the foot could assist the horse, nor the horse the foot, the latter, who had rashly ventured into the plain, relying on the support of their cavalry, were cut to pieces; and the cavalry being surrounded, could neither withstand the Roman infantry in front (for by this time their own was intirely cut off), nor the cavalry on their rear; but, having formed in a circle, and defended themselves a long time without changing their position, they were all slain to a man. Thus not one of those who were engaged in the valley, either horse or foot, survived the fight. The third company, which had stood on the hill rather to view the engagement securely, than to take any part in it, had both room and time to make their escape. The two princes also fled with them during the tumult, and before the army was intirely surrounded.

34. The same day the camp of the Spaniards was taken, together with about three thousand men, besides other booty. Of the Romans and their allies, there fell one thousand two hundred; above three thousand were wounded. The victory would have been less bloody, if the battle had happened in a more extensive plain, so as to have allowed the enemy an easy flight. Indibilis, renouncing his project of proceeding farther in the war, and seeing no better prospect of safety in this desperate state of his affairs than in the honor and clemency of Scipio, which he had already experienced, sent his brother Mandonius to him; who, prostrating himself at his feet, lamented 'the

fatal frenzy of the times, wherein, as it were, through some pestilent contagion, not only the Illergetians and Lacetanians, but even the Roman camp had been infected: that the present state of himself, his brother, and the rest of his countrymen, was such, that if it was required they would surrender up to Scipio the life which he had spared to them; or, if they might be still preserved, they would ever devote it to his service; for in such case they should be actually twice indebted to him alone for existence. That, in the former case, they had confidence in their cause, before they had made trial of his clemency; but now, on the contrary, they could have none in their cause, and their only hope lay in the mercy of their conqueror.' It was the practice of the Romans, observed from very early times with respect to persons with whom they had formed no treaty of friendship or alliance, never to exercise any act of authority over them; for they were not held as subjects until they had surrendered all their property, both sacred and common, had given hostages, delivered up their arms, and received garrisons in their towns. On the present occasion, Scipio, after severely reproaching Mandonius, who was present, and Indibilis, who was absent, said that 'they had deservedly been brought to ruin by their own wicked practices; that they should owe their lives to the generosity of himself and the Roman people. Farther, he would not even deprive them of their arms; those were only to be taken as pledges by such as feared a renewal of war; they should therefore be freely left them; nor should their minds be shackled with fear. Should they again revolt, he would not take vengeance on guiltless hostages, but on themselves; he would inflict no punishment on defenceless enemies, but on those who carried arms. That he left it to themselves, who had experienced both, to choose the favor or the resentment of the Romans.' On these terms Mandonius was dismissed, and they were only fined a sum of money for the pay of the troops. Scipio, having sent on his lieutenant into Farther Spain,

and Silanus back to Tarraco, delayed only a few days, until the Illergetians had paid the fine demanded of them. Then, with some troops lightly equipped, he followed Marcius, whom he overtook at a small distance from the ocean.

35. The negotiation, some time before commenced with Masinissa, had been delayed by various causes: the Numidian choosing to confer only with Scipio himself, and from his hand to receive the ratification of the compact. This was Scipio's reason for undertaking at that time so long a journey, and to places so distant from his quarters. When Masinissa received notice at Gades from Marcius that he was drawing nigh, complaining that his horses were injured by being pent up in the island; that they not only caused a scarcity of every thing among the men, but felt it themselves; and besides that the horsemen were losing their spirits through want of exercise; he prevailed on Mago to allow him to pass over to the continent, to plunder the adjacent country of the Spaniards. On landing he sent forward three chiefs of the Numidians, to fix a time and place for a conference, desiring that two of them might be detained by Scipio as hostages, and the third sent back to conduct him to the place appointed. They came to the conference with but few attendants; the Numidian had long been possessed with admiration of the man he was about to meet, from the fame of his exploits, and had formed a perfect idea of the grandeur and dignity of his person. But on seeing him, his veneration increased; for the elegance of his appearance, naturally majestic, was added to by his flowing hair, and by his becoming dress, not decorated with ornaments, but in a style truly manly and military; by his age also, as he was in full vigor, aided by the bloom of youth, renewed as it were after his late illness. At their meeting, the Numidian, struck with a degree of astonishment, first 'thanked him for having sent home his brother's son; assured him that ever since the transaction he had sought for the present opportunity, which being at length offered by the favor

of the immortal gods, he had not neglected; that he wished to exert himself in his service and that of the Roman people, with more zeal and effect than had ever been shown by any foreigner in support of the Roman interest: that although this had long been his wish, yet he was less able to effect it in Spain,—a territory with which he was little acquainted; but in his own country, in Africa, where he had been born and educated with the hopes of enjoying the kingdom of his father, it would be more easily in his power to serve them; that if the Romans thought proper to send the same commander, Scipio, into Africa, he had good reason to hope that the existence of Carthage would be of very short duration.' Scipio received and heard him with much satisfaction; he knew that Masinissa was the main support of the enemy with respect to cavalry, and the young man himself had given considerable proofs of spirit. After they had mutually pledged their faith, he returned to Tarraco; and Masinissa having, with permission of the Romans, ravaged the neighboring soil, that he might not appear to have passed over to the continent for nothing, returned to Gades.

36. While Mago was preparing to pass into Africa, despairing of success in Spain (of which he had been encouraged to entertain hopes, first, by the mutiny of the soldiers, and afterwards by the revolt of Indibilis), information was brought from Carthage that the senate ordered him to carry over to Italy the fleet which he had at Gades, and, having there hired as many of the Gallic and Ligurian youths as he could find, to form a junction with Hannibal, and not to suffer the war to sink into languor, after the very great exertions and greater successes which had signalised its beginning. Money, to answer this purpose, was brought to Mago from Carthage: in addition to which he extorted much from the people of Gades, plundering not only their treasury but their temples, and compelling them to bring in their private properties of gold and silver to the public stock. As he sailed along the coast of Spain, he landed his men not far from New Carthage;

and having ravaged the lands adjoining, brought up his fleet from thence to the city; where, having kept his soldiers on board the ships during the day, he disembarked them in the night, and led them on to that part of the wall over which the Romans had entered when they took the place; for he had a notion that the garrison was not strong, and that, on seeing a hope of changing masters, some of the townsmen would raise a commotion. But those who had fled in a panic from the fields had already brought an account of the dispersion of the country people, and the approach of the enemy; the fleet also had been observed during the day, and it was sufficiently evident that its station before the city had not been chosen without some reason. The garrison were therefore drawn up and kept under arms withinside the gate which looks toward the basin and the sea. The enemy rushing on in a tumultuous manner, with crowds of seamen mixed among the soldiers, advanced to the walls with more noise than strength; when the Romans, suddenly throwing open the gate, rushed forth with a shout, and having disordered and repulsed the motley band at the first onset and discharge of their darts, pursued them with great slaughter to the coast; nor would one of them have survived the battle and the pursuit, had not the vessels, warping close to the shore, received them as they fled in dismay. Those on ship-board also were not without their share of the confusion, occasioned by the drawing up of the ladders, lest the enemy should force in along with their own men, and in cutting away their cables and anchors to avoid the delay of weighing them. Many, in attempting to swim to the ships, as they could not in the declining light distinguish whether they ought to direct their course, or what to avoid, met a miserable death. Next day, when the fleet had fled back to the mid-ocean, there were found between the wall and the shore eight hundred men slain, and two thousand stands of arms.

37. Mago, returning to Gades, was not permitted to enter the place; on which he put with his fleet into

Cimbis at a little distance, and from thence sent ambassadors, complaining of their having shut their gates against an ally and friend. While they apologised for this act, alleging that it had been done by a part of the multitude, who were offended because some of their effects had been carried off by the soldiers when they were embarking, he enticed their suffetes,¹ which is the name of the chief magistracy among the Carthaginians, and their treasurer to a conference; and then ordered them to be crucified, after they had been mangled with stripes. From thence he sailed to the island Pityusa,² about one hundred miles from the continent, inhabited at that time by Carthaginians, where the fleet was received in a friendly manner, and supplied not only with abundance of provisions, but with a reinforcement of young men and arms. Emboldened by these succors, the Carthaginian proceeded to the Balearic islands, about fifty miles distant. There are two of the Baleares;³ one larger and more powerful in men and arms than the other, and which has also a harbor, where he believed he might pass the winter commodiously, as it was now the latter end of autumn. But here he met with an opposition as violent as if the inhabitants of that island had been Romans. As they now mostly use slings, so at that time these were their only weapons; in the skilful use of which the Balea-

¹ These were two magistrates chosen annually, and invested with power similar to those of the Roman consuls. The Carthaginians had a senate also like that of the Romans. There was one peculiarity in their proceedings which deserves notice: when the members were unanimous, there was no appeal from their decision; but when opinions were divided, the business devolved to the community at large. For a very long time the people interfered but little with the administration of public affairs; but afterwards, by means of factions and cabals, they almost intirely engrossed it to themselves, which proved a principal cause of their ruin. They had a council consisting of one hundred and four members, called the tribunal of the hundred, to which the commanders of armies were responsible for their conduct.

² Ivica.

³ Majorca and Minorca.

reans universally excel all others. Such a quantity, therefore, of stones was poured, like the thickest hail on the fleet as it approached the land that, not daring to enter the harbor, the Carthaginians tacked about to the main. They then passed over to the smaller of the Baleares, which is equally fertile in soil, though, as already noted, of lesser strength. Here they landed, and pitched their camp in a strong post, over the harbor, taking possession of the city and country without a contest. Then, having enlisted two thousand auxiliaries, and sent them to Carthage for the winter, they hauled their ships on shore. After Mago had departed from the coast, the people of Gades surrendered to the Romans.

38. Such were the transactions in Spain under the conduct and command of Publius Scipio; who, having committed the charge of the province to Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Audinus, returned to Rome with ten ships; and having obtained an audience of the senate in the temple of Bellona, without the city, made a recital of his services in Spain, how often he had engaged the enemy in pitched battles, how many towns he had taken, and what nations he had reduced under the dominion of the Roman people; that 'he had gone into Spain against four generals, and four armies, who were elated with victory; and that he had not left a Carthaginian in all that country.' On account of these exploits, he rather made trial how far he might hope for a triumph than pushed for it with any earnestness; because it was well known that no one had ever been honored with it for achievements performed, unless invested with a public office. When the senate was dismissed he proceeded into the city, and carried before him to the treasury fourteen thousand three hundred and forty-two pounds weight of silver, and of coined silver a great sum. Lucius Veturius Philo then held the assembly for electing consuls; and all the centuries, with extraordinary marks of attachment, named Publius Scipio consul. The colleague joined with him was Publius Licinius Crassus,

chief pontiff. We are told that this election was attended by a greater concourse of people than any during that war. They had come together from all parts, not only for the purpose of giving their votes, but of getting a sight of Scipio; and ran in crowds, both to his house and to the capitol, while he was performing sacrifice, by offering to Jupiter a hundred oxen, which he had vowed on occasion of the mutiny of the soldiers in Spain. Strong expectations were at the same time entertained, that as Caius Lutatius had finished the former Punic war, so Publius Cornelius Scipio would finish the present; and that, as he had already expelled the Carthaginians from every part of Spain, he would in like manner expel them from Italy. They therefore destined Africa to him as a province, as if the war in Italy were at an end. The election of the pretors was then held: two were appointed, who were at the time plebeian ediles, Spurius Lucretius and Cneius Octavius; and, of private rank, Cneius Servilius Cæpio and Lucius Æmilius Papus. In the fourteenth year of the Punic war, as soon as Publius Cornelius Scipio and Publius Licinius Crassus entered on the consulship, the provinces for the consuls were named; for Scipio, Sicily, without drawing lots, with the consent of his colleague, because the necessary attendance on religious matters required the presence of the chief pontiff in Italy; for Crassus, Bruttium. The provinces of the pretors were then disposed of by lot; that of the city fell to Cneius Servilius; Ariminum (so they called Gaul) to Spurius Lucretius; Sicily to Lucius Æmilius; and Sardinia to Cneius Octavius. The senate was held in the capitol; there, on the matter being proposed by Publius Scipio, a decree was made, that the games which he had vowed during the mutiny of the soldiers in Spain should be exhibited, and the expense defrayed out of the money which himself had conveyed to the treasury.

39. He then introduced to the senate ambassadors from Saguntum, the eldest of whom addressed them in this manner: ‘Conscript fathers, although there is no

degree of evil beyond what we have endured, in order that we might preserve our faith towards you inviolate to the last, yet so highly has your behavior, and that of your commanders, merited at our hands, that we do not repent of having exposed ourselves to sufferings. On our account you undertook the war, and although it is now the fourteenth year since it began, yet you still maintain it with such persevering spirit as to endanger yourselves, while having often brought the Carthaginians to the very brink of ruin. At a time when you had so grievous a contest to maintain, and with such an antagonist as Hannibal, you sent your consul with an army into Spain, to collect as it were what remained of us after a shipwreck. Publius and Cneius Cornelius, from the moment of their arrival in the province, never ceased to pursue measures favorable to us and destructive to our enemies. They first of all regained and gave back to us our city; and sending persons to search for our countrymen, who had been sold and dispersed through every part of Spain, they restored them from slavery to liberty. When, after experiencing the utmost wretchedness, we were near being happily settled, your commanders, Publius and Cneius Cornelius, fell, more to be lamented in some measure by us even than by you. Then, indeed, it appeared as if we had been called from distant places to our original residence only that we might be a second time ruined; only that we might see a second destruction of our country. That, to accomplish this, there was no occasion for an army of Carthaginians; we might be utterly destroyed by our oldest and most inveterate enemies, the Turdulans, who had also been the cause of our former calamity. In which conjuncture you speedily, and beyond our expectations, sent to us this Publius Scipio, the author of our well-being, the supporter of all our hopes; of whose election to the consulship our having been eye-witnesses, and our being able to carry home the joyful news to our countrymen, render us the happiest of the Saguntines. He, having taken a great number of the towns of your

enemies in Spain, always separated the Saguntines from the rest of the prisoners, and sent them home to their own country; and lastly, by his arms, so humbled Turdetania—a state so inveterate in its animosity against us, that, if its power had continued, Saguntum must have fallen,—that not only we, but (let me say it without presumption) even our posterity, need have no apprehensions from it. We now see their city destroyed,—the city of a people for whose gratification Hannibal ruined Saguntum. We now receive tribute from their country—a circumstance not more gratifying to us, in the profit we derive from it, than in the satisfying of our revenge. In gratitude for these blessings, greater than which we could not either hope or implore from the immortal gods, the senate and people of Saguntum have sent us their ten ambassadors to present their thanks; and, at the same time, to congratulate you on the success which has of late years attended your arms in Spain and Italy. You hold the possession of Spain, so acquired, not only as far as the city of Iberus, but to the utmost limits and boundaries by the ocean; while in Italy you have left nothing to the Carthaginian but what the rampart of his camp incloses. To Jove, supremely great and good, who presides over the fortress of the capitol, we have been ordered, not only to make acknowledgements for these blessings, but, with your permission, to bear thither this offering, a golden crown, in token of victory. We request that you will permit us this act of reverence; and also that you will ratify by your authority, and fix on a permanent footing, the advantages bestowed on us by your commanders.’ The senate answered the Saguntine ambassadors, that ‘the destruction and restoration of Saguntum would be an example to all nations of social faith fulfilled on both sides; that their commanders, in restoring that city, and delivering its inhabitants from slavery, had acted properly, regularly, and agreeably to the intentions of the senate: that all other acts of kindness shown them had likewise their approbation; and that they gave them per-

mission to deposit their charge in the capitol.' Orders were then given that apartments and entertainment should be provided for the ambassadors, and a present made to each of them of not less than ten thousand asses.¹ Other embassies were then introduced and heard. On the Saguntines requesting that they might be allowed to take a view of Italy, as far as they could go with safety, guides were given them, and letters despatched to all the towns, requiring them to entertain these Spaniards in a friendly manner. The senate then took into consideration the state of public affairs, the levying of troops, and the distribution of the provinces.

40. People in general expressed a desire that Africa should be constituted a new province, and assigned to Publius Scipio without casting lots; and he, not content with a moderate share of glory, affirmed that he had been appointed consul, not for the purpose only of carrying on the war, but of finishing it; that this could be accomplished by no other means than by transporting an army into Africa; declaring openly, that if the senate should oppose him in that point, he would carry it by the votes of the people. The principal senators by no means approved of the design; and whilst the rest, either through fear or a desire of ingratiating themselves with him, declined uttering their sentiments, Quintus Fabius Maximus, being asked his opinion, expressed himself to this effect: 'I know, conscript fathers, that many among you are of opinion that we are this day deliberating on an affair already determined; and that he will expend words to little purpose who shall deliver his sentiments on the subject of Africa being constituted a province, as on a matter open to discussion. Yet, in the first place, I do not understand how Africa can be a province, already secured to that brave and active commander, our consul, when neither the senate have voted, nor the people ordered, that it should at all be considered as such;

¹ 32l. 5s. 10d.

and again, if it were, in my judgment it is the consul who acts amiss; for it is a mockery of the senate to pretend to consult them on a question if already decided, and not the senator, who in his place would speak to the business which he supposed in hand. Now I am well aware, that, by disapproving this violent haste to pass over into Africa, I expose myself to two imputations: one the caution natural to my temper, which young men have my free consent to call cowardice and sloth; while I have no reason to be sorry that, although the schemes of others always carried at first view a more specious appearance, yet mine were on experience found to be more useful. The other imputation to which I shall be liable is that of detraction and envy towards the rising glory of the valiant consul:—from a suspicion of which kind, if neither my past life and morals can free me, nor a dictatorship and five consulships, together with such a store of glory acquired in the transactions both of war and peace, that it is more likely I should be satiated than desirous of more; let my age, at least, acquit me. For what emulation can I have with him, who is not equal in age even to my son? When I was dictator, when I was in full vigor, and proceeding in a course of the greatest achievements, no one heard me, either in the senate or before the people, make opposition to the proposed measure, (although such as had never before been heard of, even in conversation,) of conferring power equal to mine on the master of the horse, and who at the very time was endeavoring to injure my character. I chose to effect my purpose by actions rather than words; and that he who was set on a level with me in the judgment of others should at length, by his own confession, allow me a superiority over him. Much less would I now, after having passed through every dignity of the state, propose to myself contests and emulations with a man blooming in youth. Is it that Africa, if refused to him, might be decreed as a province to me,—to me, already wearied, not only with the toils of business, but even with length of

years? No: with that glory which I have already acquired I am to live and die. I stopped the career of Hannibal's conquests, that you, whose powers are now in vigor, might be able to gain conquests over him.

41. 'As I never, in my own case, regarded the opinion of the world when set in competition with the advantage of the state, it will be but reasonable that you pardon me, Publius Cornelius, if I do not consider even your fame in preference to the public good. If either there were no war in Italy, or the enemy here were such that a victory over him would be productive of no glory, he who should attempt to retain you in Italy, notwithstanding that he consulted therein the general welfare, might seem to intend, while he restrained you from removing the war, to deprive you of a subject of future glory. Yet Hannibal, a powerful enemy, with an army unimpaired, maintains a footing in Italy for the fourteenth year. Would you then have reason to be dissatisfied, Publius Cornelius, with your share of fame, if you should in your consulate expel such a foe from out of Italy; a foe, who has been the cause of so much mourning, of so many calamities to us? In fine, should you not be content to enjoy the reputation of having finished the present Punic war, as Caius Lutatius did that of finishing the former? Unless, indeed, you will say that Hamilcar is a general more formidable than Hannibal; or that a war in Africa is of greater importance than it would be in Italy; that a victory there, supposing it should be our good fortune to obtain such while you are consul, would be more profitable and illustrious than one here. Would you choose to draw away Hamilcar from Drepanum or Eryx, rather than to expel the Carthaginians and Hannibal out of Italy? Although you should look with a more partial regard on the renown which you have acquired, than on that which you have in prospect, yet surely you would not pride yourself so much in having freed Spain, as in freeing Italy. Hannibal is not yet in such a condition, that he who prefers engaging with another general must not evidently ap-

pear to be actuated by fear of him, rather than by contempt. Why, then, do you not direct your efforts to this point, and carry the strength of the war immediately to the place where Hannibal is, and not by that circuition, presuming that, when you shall have passed into Africa, Hannibal will follow you thither? Do you wish to be crowned with the distinguished honor of having finished the Punic war? In the very nature of things, you are to defend your own property, before you attack another's. Let peace be restored in Italy before hostilities commence in Africa. Let us be delivered from fear ourselves before we attempt to make others afraid of us. If both can be accomplished under your conduct and auspices, it will be well. After you have vanquished Hannibal at home, then go and lay siege to Carthage. If one or the other of these conquests must be left to succeeding consuls, the former, as it will be the more important and the more glorious, will be also the cause of the subsequent one: for in the present state of affairs, besides that the treasury cannot maintain two different armies, one in Italy, and another in Africa; besides that we have nothing left us wherewith we could equip fleets, or be able to supply provisions; who does not see what danger must be incurred? Publius Licinius will wage war in Italy, Publius Scipio in Africa. What if Hannibal, having gained a superiority, should advance to the city (may all the gods avert the omen! my mind is shocked even at mentioning it; but what has happened, may happen again), will that be a time for us to be obliged to send for you, the consul, from Africa, as we sent for Quintus Fulvius from Capua? Besides, are we to suppose that in Africa the chances of war will not be the same with both parties? Let your father and your uncle be a warning to you, cut off, together with their armies, in the space of thirty days; and after having, during a course of several years, by their great services, as well on land as at sea, rendered the name of the Roman people, and of your family, in the highest degree illustrious among foreign states.

The whole day would not be sufficient, were I to recount to you all the kings and generals who, by passing rashly into an enemy's country, have brought the greatest calamities on themselves and their armies. The Athenians, for instance, a state remarkable for prudence, having, at the instigation of a youth who was distinguished as much by his active spirit as by his nobility, neglected a war at home, and sent over a large fleet to Sicily (their commonwealth at that time in a most flourishing condition), suffered, in one naval engagement, such a blow as could never be retrieved.

42. 'But, not to bring examples from distant countries, and times of such remote antiquity, Africa itself, and Marcus Atilius (a remarkable instance of both extremes of fortune), may serve as a warning to us. Be assured, Publius Cornelius, that, when you shall have a view of Africa from the sea, all your exploits in Spain will appear to you to have been only matter of sport and play. For in what circumstance can they be compared? After sailing along the coasts of Italy and Gaul, where there was nothing to oppose you, you carried your fleet into the harbor of Emporiæ, a city belonging to our allies; and, having landed your men, you led them through countries intirely free from danger to Tarraco, to the friends and allies of the Roman people. From Tarraco you passed amid Roman garrisons. It was on the Iberus, indeed, that the armies of your father and uncle were exasperated by the loss of their generals, their new commander being Lucius Marcius, irregularly appointed, it is true, and chosen for the time by the suffrages of the soldiers; but, except that he wanted a noble birth, and a regular course of promotion, equal to many celebrated captains in every military accomplishment. The siege of New Carthage you carried on quite at your leisure, while neither of the three Carthaginian armies attempted to relieve the place. As to the rest of your exploits, I am far from wishing to lessen their merit, but they are certainly by no means to be compared with a war in

Africa ; where there is not a single harbor open to our fleet ; no part of the country at peace with us ; no state our ally ; no king our friend ; no room, anywhere, either to stand or advance. On whatever side you turn your eyes, all things are hostile and threatening. Will you depend on Syphax and the Numidians ? Suffice it to say that they were once trusted. Rashness is not always successful ; and hypocrisy, by acquiring a foundation of credit in smaller matters, prepares for itself the opportunity of deceiving with greater advantage. The foe did not get the better of your father and uncle by arms until their Celtiberian allies had first got the better of them by treachery. Nor were you yourself brought into so much danger by Mago and Hasdrubal, the enemy's generals, as by Indibilis and Mandonius, whom you had received into your protection. Can you, who have experienced a defection of your own soldiers, place any confidence in Numidians ? Both Syphax and Masinissa are desirous of becoming the greatest powers in Africa, to the exclusion of the Carthaginians ; but still they prefer the interest of those people to that of any other state. At present, mutual emulation embitters them against each other, and which arises from their feeling no immediate apprehensions from any foreign force. The moment they behold the Roman arms they will instantly unite, as if to extinguish a fire equally threatening them both. The efforts which these same Carthaginians made in support of Spain were widely different from what they will exert in defence of the walls of their native city, of the temples of their gods, their altars, and their dwellings ; when their wives, distracted with fear, shall accompany them as they go to battle, and their helpless children gather round them. Besides, what if the Carthaginians, thinking themselves sufficiently secured by the harmony subsisting in Africa, by the faith of the kings their allies, and by their own fortifications, should, on seeing Italy deprived of your protection, either send over a new army from Africa into Italy, or order Mago (who, we know,

has sailed over from the Baleares, and is now cruising on the coast of the Alpine Ligurians) to join his forces to those of Hannibal? We should then be seized with the same terror which we felt lately, on hearing of the approach of Hasdrubal, and whom you, (who are to shut up with your army, not only Carthage, but all Africa,) allowed to slip through your hands into Italy. You will say that he was defeated by you: the less, for that very reason, can I wish that he should be permitted, after being defeated, to march into this country; and that, not only on the account of the public, but your own also. Allow us to ascribe to your good conduct all those events in your province which were favorable to you and to the state, and to impute such as were unfavorable to fortune, and to the chances of war. The more merit and bravery you possess, the more is your country and all Italy concerned to keep at home so powerful a protector. You cannot but acknowledge that wherever Hannibal is, there the main stress and head of the present war must be looked for: yet the reason you give for passing over into Africa is, that you may draw Hannibal thither. Whether the Carthaginians, therefore, be in this country or in that, your business is to oppose him. Now, I pray you, whether will you be better able to cope with him in Africa, where you are to stand alone, or here, with the army of your colleague joined to your own? Is not the importance of this consideration sufficiently evinced by the recent fate of the consuls Claudius and Livius? What! is Hannibal to be feared here, as receiving an augmentation of men and arms from the remotest corner of the country of Bruttium, (and which he in vain solicits from home,) or with Carthage at his back, and all Africa confederated with him? What is this plan of choosing to fight there, where your forces must be less by half, and those of the enemy considerably greater, rather than here, at the head of two armies against one, and that one impaired in strength by so many battles, and by such long and laborious service? Consider well how far this plan of

yours resembles that of your father. He, in his consulship, after having gone to Spain, came back from his province to Italy, in order to meet Hannibal as he was descending from the Alps: you, when Hannibal is in Italy, intend to quit the country, not because you judge that measure useful to the state, but because you expect from it splendor and glory to yourself. Just as when, without an order of the commons, without a decree of the senate, you left your province and your army;—yes, you, a commander employed by the Roman people, intrusted to two ships the fortune of the public, and the majesty of the empire, which were then exposed to hazard in your person. In my judgment, conscript fathers, Publius Cornelius Scipio was elected consul for the purpose of serving us and the people, not for his own private schemes of ambition. In my opinion, the armies were enlisted for the protection of the city and of Italy, and not to be carried about by the consuls with king-like ostentation, in gratification of their own vanity, and to any part of the world they may think proper.'

43. By this speech, formed for the occasion, by his authority and his established character for prudence, Fabius influenced a great part of the senate, especially those advanced in years; and a greater number approving of the wariness of the sage than of the spirit of the youth, Scipio is said to have spoken thus: 'Conscript fathers, even Quintus Fabius himself, in the beginning of his speech, has acknowledged that, in the declaration which he has made of his sentiments, he might possibly be suspected of detraction; and although I will not presume to bring a charge of such a nature against so great a man, yet certainly, whether through a defect in his discourse, or in the subject, the suspicion has not been removed. For, in order to avoid the imputation of envy, he has extolled his own honors, and the fame of his exploits, in very magnificent terms; tending to show that whatever competition I may enter into with others, however I may fear that some person, now in obscurity, may one day be

equal with me; yet, from him I have no kind of rivalry to apprehend; for he has attained to such a height of eminence that he will not suffer me at any time to be placed on a level with him, however anxiously I may wish it; and that I do wish it, I will by no means dissemble. He has, therefore, represented himself as a man of gravity and wisdom, who has passed through every degree of public honors; and me, as below the age even of his son; as if ambition extended not its views beyond the present life, and did not look forward to posterity and future remembrance as the greatest possible reward. I well know that it is usual with persons of exalted merit to compare themselves with the illustrious men, not only of the present, but of every age; and I do not deny, Quintus Fabius, that I wish not only to overtake you in the race of glory, but, pardon the expression, to outrun you, if I can. That disposition of mind will not, I hope, affect you towards me, nor me towards my juniors, that we should be displeased if any of our countrymen became distinguished like ourselves; for that would be an injury not only to those who were the objects of our envy, but to the state, and in some measure to all mankind. Fabius has descanted on the danger which I must incur if I pass into Africa, so as to appear anxious, not only about the safety of the nation and the army, but about mine. Whence has this concern for me so suddenly arisen? when my father and uncle were slain; when their two armies were cut off almost to a man; when Spain was lost; when four armies and four generals of the Carthaginians, by terror and by arms, kept possession of every thing; when the public were at a loss for a general to conduct that war, and no one stepped forward except myself; when no one dared to declare himself a candidate; when the Roman people had conferred the command on me, though but twenty-four years old—how happened it that no mention was then made of my age, of the power of the enemy, of the difficulties of opposing him, or of the recent calamity of my relatives? Has

any greater misfortune befallen us in Africa than had at that time been experienced in Spain? Are there now on that continent more numerous armies or better generals than there were then in Spain? Was I fitter at that time of life for conducting a war than I am now? Is a contest with a Carthaginian enemy less difficult in Spain than in Africa? It is an easy matter, after four Carthaginian armies routed and intirely dispersed; after so many cities taken by force, or terrified into a surrender, while all places, even as far as the ocean, have been brought under intire subjection; while so many princes, so many savage nations have been wholly reduced; in a word, after all Spain has been reconquered, and in such a manner as that no trace of war remains;—it is easy, I say, to depreciate the value of my services; just as easy, in truth, as it will be, if I shall return victorious from Africa, to make light of those very circumstances which are now so greatly aggravated, and painted in such terrible colors, for the purpose of detaining me here. It is affirmed that no entrance can be found into Africa; that there are no harbors open to us; that Marcus Atilius was taken prisoner there, as if Marcus Atilius had miscarried on approaching that coast. But Fabius does not recollect that this commander (afterwards, indeed, unfortunate) found the harbors of Africa open, and during the first year performed extraordinary services; and as far as concerned the Carthaginian generals, remained unconquered to the last. The example which you produce, therefore, does not in the least deter me. If that loss had even been sustained in the present war, and not in the former; if lately, and not forty years ago, yet why should I not as well pass into Africa after Regulus was made prisoner, as into Spain, after the Scipios were slain; nor suffer it to be said that the birth of Xanthippus, a Lacedæmonian, was, by the defeat of our consul, more fortunate to Carthage, than mine to my own country? and why might not I assume additional confidence from that very circumstance, that it was possible for the bravery

of one man, a Spartan, to produce such important consequences? But we are also told of the Athenians neglecting a war at home, and passing inconsiderately into Sicily. Why do you not rather, since you have leisure to recount Grecian fables, mention Agathocles, king of Syracuse, who, when Sicily was for a long time wasted by a Punic war, by passing over into this same Africa, averted that war to the place from whence it came?

44. ' But what need is there either of ancient or foreign examples to remind us how useful it is to spread terror among the enemy by a sudden attack ; and after removing the danger to a distance from ourselves, to make him abide the hazard ? Can there be any greater or more striking instance than is found in Hannibal ? Between wasting the territories of others, and seeing our own destroyed with fire and sword, the difference is immense. The assailant has ever more spirit than the defendant ; and people's apprehensions are the greater in the latter case. When you have entered an enemy's territories, you can then see more distinctly the advantages and disadvantages which pertain to the same. Hannibal never entertained a hope that so many nations in Italy would revolt to him as did, and which was induced by our misfortune at Cannæ. How much less can any firm and steady support in Africa be expected by the Carthaginians, who are themselves faithless allies, severe and haughty masters ? As to ourselves, even when deserted by confederates, we stood firm in our own natural strength, the soldiery of Rome. This the Carthaginians do not possess ; besides, their soldiers are procured for hire, — Africans, with Numidians, of all men the most unsteady in their attachments. If no obstruction be thrown in my way at home, you shall shortly hear, that I have made good my descent, and that Africa is in a blaze of war ; that Hannibal, in returning thither, comes but to experience a defeat, and that Carthage is besieged : in fine, expect confidently more frequent and more joyful dispatches from that continent than

you received from Spain. These hopes are suggested to me by the fortune of the Roman people, the gods who witnessed the treaty which the enemy have violated, and the friendship of the kings, Syphax and Masinissa, to whom I shall look for aid while securing myself against perfidy. The war will disclose many things which do not appear now; and it is the business of a general not to fail of improving the overtures of fortune, and to convert casual occurrences to the accomplishment of his designs. I shall, Quintus Fabius, have the antagonist whom you assign me, Hannibal: I shall compel him to fight in his own country, and Carthage rather shall be the prize than the half-ruined forts of the Bruttians. With respect to the security of the state, and that it should suffer no injury while I am on my passage; while I am landing my army in Africa; while I am marching forwards to Carthage; be careful in any assertion as to what you, Quintus Fabius, were able to accomplish, at a time when Hannibal was pursuing a rapid career of victory through all parts of Italy; be mindful, I say, lest it be considered as an insult, that you do not too freely affirm of him, that, shaken and almost broken in pieces, his overthrow by Publius Licinius the consul were easy,—a man, by the way, of the most consummate valor, and who declined the lot of so distant a province as Africa, only because, being chief pontiff, he must not be absent from his religious duties. In fact, even though the war were not to be brought to a speedier conclusion by the method which I propose, still it would concern the dignity of the Roman people, and their reputation among foreign kings and nations, that we should appear to have spirit, not only to defend Italy, but to carry our arms into Africa; and that it should not be spread abroad, and believed, that no Roman general dared what Hannibal had dared; and that, in the former Punic war, when the contest was about Sicily, Africa had been often attacked by our fleets and armies; but that now, when the contest is about Italy, Africa should enjoy peace. Let Italy, so long

harassed, enjoy at length some repose : let Africa, in its turn, feel fire and sword. Let the Roman camp press on the very gates of Carthage, rather than that we, a second time, should behold from our walls the rampart of that of the enemy. Let Africa, in short, be the seat of the remainder of the war : thither be removed terror and flight, devastation of lands, revolt of allies, and all the other calamities with which, for fourteen years, we have been afflicted. It is sufficient that I have delivered my sentiments on those matters which affect the state, the dispute in which we are involved, and the provinces under consideration : my discourse would be tedious and unsuitable to this audience, if, as Quintus Fabius has depreciated my services in Spain, I should, on the other hand, endeavor in like manner to disparage his glory, and extol my own. I shall do neither, conscript fathers ; but young as I am, I will show that I excel that sage, if in nothing else, yet certainly in modesty and temperance of language. Such has been my life and conduct, that I can, in silence, rest perfectly satisfied with that character which your own judgments have formed of me.'

45. Scipio was heard the less favorably on account of a rumor which prevailed, that if he did not carry the point in the senate, of having Africa decreed to him as his province, he was determined immediately to submit the business to public decision. Therefore Quintus Fulvius, who had been consul four times, and censor, demanded of the consul, that he should declare openly in the senate, whether ' he meant to abide by the determination of the fathers in regard to the provinces, or whether he intended to bring the matter before the people.' Scipio having answered, that he would act in such a manner as he should deem most advantageous to the state, Fulvius replied, ' I did not ask the question through ignorance of what you would answer, and what you intended to do. It is thus plainly seen, that you are rather sounding the senate, than consulting them ; and have an order ready to be proposed to the people, if we do not immediately decree

to you the province that you desire. I therefore call on you, tribunes, to support me in refusing to give my opinion, and for this reason, that, although a majority should concur with me, yet the consul would appeal from their judgment.' On this an altercation arose, Scipio insisting that it was unfair for the tribunes to interpose, so as to prevent any senator from giving his opinion on being asked it in his place. The tribunes determined thus: 'If the consul submits the regulation of the provinces to the senate, we are satisfied that their decision shall be final, and we will not suffer that matter to be carried before the people; if he does not so submit it, we will support such as shall refuse to give their opinion on the subject.' The consul desired time until the next day, that he might confer with his colleague, and the affair was then submitted to the senate, who decreed the provinces in this manner: to one consul, Sicily, and the thirty ships of war, which Caius Servilius had commanded the preceding year, with permission to pass over into Africa, if he should judge it for the advantage of the state; to the other, Bruttium, and the war against Hannibal, with the army which Lucius Veturius, or that which Quintus Cæcilius commanded; that these latter should cast lots, or settle between themselves, which of them should command in Bruttium, with the two legions which would be left by the consul; and that he, to whose lot that province fell, should be continued in it for another year. The others also who were to have the charge of armies, besides the consuls and pretors, had their commission prolonged. It fell by lot to Quintus Cæcilius, that, in conjunction with the consul, he should manage the war against Hannibal in Bruttium. Scipio's games were then exhibited to a vast concourse of spectators, who expressed the highest approbation. Marcus Pomponius Matho and Quintus Cælius, being sent ambassadors to Delphi, with a present out of the spoils of Hasdrubal, carried a golden crown of two hundred pounds weight, and representations of the prizes, formed of one thousand pounds

weight of silver. . Although Scipio had not obtained nor earnestly solicited authority to levy soldiers, he yet was permitted to enrol volunteers ; and as he had declared that the fleet should be no expense to the public, so he might receive such contributions as should be offered by the allies for building new ships. The states of Etruria first promised to give assistance to the consul proportioned to the respective abilities of each ; the people of Cære engaged to bring corn and provisions of all kinds for the seamen ; the Populonians, iron ; the Tarquinians, canvass for sails ; the Volaterrans, tackling and corn ; the Arretians, thirty thousand shields, the same number of helmets ; of javelins, short pikes, and long spears, each an equal number, amounting in the whole to fifty thousand ; to supply axes, mattocks, bills, buckets, and millstones, sufficient for forty ships of war, with one hundred and twenty thousand pecks of wheat ; they also promised to contribute to the expense of the decurions¹ and rowers. The people of Perrusium, Clusium, and Rusella gave assurance of fir for building ships, and a large quantity of corn. The states of Umbria, with the people of Nursia, Reate, and Amiternum, and the whole country of the Sabines, engaged to furnish soldiers. Fir however he took out of the woods belonging to the state. Great numbers of the Marsians, Pelignians, and Marrusinians, voluntarily gave in their names to serve in the fleet. The Camertans, though confederated with the Romans on equal terms, sent a cohort of six hundred men and arms. Having laid the keels of thirty ships, twenty quinqueremes, and ten quadriremes, Scipio pressed forward the work by his personal attendance in such a manner, that on the forty-fifth day after the timber had been brought from the woods, the ships were rigged, armed, and launched.

46. The consul proceeded to Sicily with thirty ships of war, having embarked about seven thousand volun-

¹ Officers who had the command of the rowers.

teers. Publius Licinius came into Bruttium to the two consular armies, of which he chose for himself that which had been commanded by the late consul Lucius Veturius; he placed Metellus at the head of the same legions as before, because he thought it would be the easier for him to transact business with those who were accustomed to his command: the pretors also repaired to their different provinces. Money for the war being wanting, the questors were ordered to sell a district of the Campanian territory, extending from the Grecian trench to the sea; they were also empowered to make inquiry what lands had been the property of any native, in order that they might be transferred to the Roman people; with a reward to any informer of the tenth part of the value of the lands so discovered. It was also given in charge to Cneius Servilius, pretor of the city, that the natives of Campania should be obliged to remain in those places which had been decreed for their residence by the senate, and that such as removed to any other should be punished. During the same summer, Mago, son of Hamilcar, after having spent the winter in the smaller of the Balears, and having there embarked a chosen body of young men on board his fleet, which consisted of near thirty ships of war and a great number of transports, carried into Italy twelve thousand foot, and about two thousand horse; and, by his unexpected arrival, surprised Genoa, there being no forces stationed to protect the coast. From thence he sailed to the coast of the Alpine Ligurians, to try if he could raise any commotions there. The Ingaunians, a tribe of the Ligurians, were at that time engaged in war with the Epanterians, who inhabited the mountains: the Carthaginian, therefore, having deposited his plunder at Savo, a town of the Alps, and left a squadron of ten ships of war to protect it, sent the rest to Carthage, to guard the sea-coast, a report being spread that Scipio intended to pass over thither. He then formed an alliance with the Ingaunians, whose friendship he esteemed, resolving in person to attack the

mountaineers. His army increased daily, the Gauls, induced by the greatness of his character, pouring in from all sides. When the senate were informed of these proceedings by letters from Spurius Lucretius, they were filled with much anxiety, apprehending that the joy which they had conceived on the destruction of Hasdrubal and his army, two years before, would prove ill-founded, if another war, equal to the former, only under a different general, were to arise from the same quarter. They therefore commanded Marcus Livius, proconsul, to march an army of volunteer slaves from Etruria to Ariminum, at the same time charging the pretor, Cneius Servilius, if he judged it advantageous to the state, to order the city legions to be led into the field, by such commander as he should think proper. Marcus Valerius Lævinus conducted those legions to Arretium. About this time eighty transport ships of the Carthaginians were taken on the coast of Sardinia by Cneius Octavius, who held the government of that province. Cælius relates that these were laden with corn and provisions for Hannibal; Valerius, that they were carrying to Carthage the plunder of Etruria, and the Ligurian mountaineers, who had been made prisoners. In Bruttium, hardly any thing memorable happened during that year. A pestilence had attacked both Romans and Carthaginians with equal violence, except that the Carthaginians, besides the disorder, were distressed by famine. Hannibal spent the summer near the temple of Juno Lacinea, where he built and dedicated an altar, with an inscription in the Carthaginian and Greek characters, containing a pompous recital of his exploits.

BOOK XXIX.

CHAP. 1. WHEN Scipio arrived in Sicily he formed his volunteers into cohorts and centuries; of which forces he kept three hundred about him, all of them vigorous young men, and ignorant of the purpose for which they were reserved, being neither inrolled in the centuries nor supplied with arms. Then, out of the whole number of youths in Sicily, he chose also three hundred of distinguished birth and fortune as horsemen, who were to pass over with him into Africa, appointing a day on which they were to attend, equipped and furnished with horses and arms. This service appeared to them very severe, being so far from home, and attended with great fatigues and great dangers, both by sea and land; so much so, that not only themselves, but their parents and relations, were distressed with anxiety on their account. At the time appointed they brought their horses and arms to be inspected; Scipio then told them that 'he was informed that some of the Sicilian horsemen dreaded the service on which they were going, as laborious and severe; that if any were thus affected he wished them to acknowledge it then to him, rather than to complain afterwards, and prove inactive and useless soldiers to the state: he desired them to express their sentiments freely, assuring them they should be listened to without displeasure.' On which one of them ventured to say, that if he had a free option, he certainly would wish to decline the service. Scipio replied, 'Since then, young man, you have not dissembled your sentiments, I will provide a substitute for you, to whom you must deliver your horse, your arms, and other implements of war; take him hence directly to your house; exercise him; and take care that he be instructed in the management of his horse and arms.' These terms the other embraced with joy, on which Scipio put into his hands

one of the three hundred whom he kept unarmed. When the others saw the horseman discharged in this manner, with the approbation of the general, each began to excuse himself and receive a substitute. Thus were Roman horsemen substituted in the place of the three hundred Sicilians, without any expense to the public. The Sicilians had the trouble of instructing and exercising them; the general having ordered, that any who did not perform this should continue in the service. We are told that this proved an excellent body of horse, and did good service to the state in many battles. Afterwards, reviewing the legions, he chose out of them those soldiers who had been the longest time in the army, especially those who had served with Marcellus; believing that they were not only formed under the best discipline, but, in consequence of the long siege of Syracuse, were best skilled in the method of attacking towns; for the object to which his views were now directed was no small matter, being nothing less than the utter destruction of Carthage. He then cantoned his army in the different towns; ordered in a supply of corn from the Sicilian states, sparing what he had brought from Italy; repaired the old ships, and sent Caius Lælius with them to Africa, to plunder the country; then hauled up the new ones on land at Panormus, that they might lie dry during the winter, because they had been hastily built of green timber; and having completed the preparations for the war, he came to Syracuse, where tranquillity was not yet intirely re-established after the late violent commotion. The Greeks, in pursuance of a grant of the senate, demanding a restoration of their effects from some Italians, who kept possession of them with the same force with which they had seized them, Scipio, reckoning it essentially requisite to support the public faith, procured a restitution of the same; partly by a proclamation issued, and partly by sentences passed against those who persisted in retaining their unjust acquisitions. This proceeding was highly acceptable not only to the persons aggrieved, but to all

the states of Sicily, and added to their alacrity in forwarding the preparations for war.

2. A formidable war was raised this summer in Spain by the instigation of Indibilis the Illergetian, on no other grounds than the contempt which, through his great admiration of Scipio, he entertained of all other generals. He was of opinion that 'this commander was the only one whom the Romans had remaining, the others of any note having, as he conceived, been slain by Hannibal: for when the Scipios were cut off in Spain they had none whom they could send thither; and afterwards, when the war pressed too heavily on them in Italy, the present one had been recalled to act against Hannibal. That, besides the Romans having only nominal generals in Spain, their veteran army had been withdrawn from thence: that, among the troops which remained, there was neither spirit nor firmness, as they consisted of an undisciplined multitude of new recruits: that there would never again be such an opportunity of asserting the liberty of Spain: that until that day they had been slaves either to the Carthaginians or Romans; and that, not to one or the other by turns, but sometimes to both together: that the Carthaginians had been expelled by the Romans, and that the Romans might now be expelled by the Spaniards, if these would act with unanimity; so that, being for ever freed from the dominion of foreigners, they might return to their own native manners and rites.' By these, and other the like discourses, he roused to arms, not only his own countrymen, but the Ausetanians also, a neighboring state, with other nations that bordered on his and their country; so that within a few days thirty thousand foot and about four thousand horse assembled in the territory of Sedeta, according to his directions. On the other side, the Roman generals, Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, lest the war, being neglected in the beginning, should spread with increasing violence, united their armies; and conducting them through the country of the Ausetanians in as peaceable a manner as if

they were among friends, they arrived at the place where the enemy lay, and pitched their tents at three miles' distance from the Spanish camp. By sending ambassadors they endeavored to prevail on them to lay aside their arms, but in vain. Afterwards, the Spanish horsemen having made a sudden attack on the foragers of the Romans, and the latter sending some troops to support them from one of their outposts, there ensued a battle between the cavalry, in which neither side gained any considerable advantage.

3. At sunrise next day the whole force of the enemy appeared in arms, and drawn up in order of battle, at the distance of about a mile from the Roman camp. The Ausetanians were in the centre, the Illergetians formed the right wing, and people of several inconsiderable Spanish states the left: between the wings and the main body they had left very wide intervals, through which the horse might charge on occasion. The Romans drew up their army in the usual manner, yet so far following the example of the enemy as to leave passages open for the cavalry between the legions. Lentulus, however, considering that the horse could be of use only to that party which should first make an attack on the enemy's line, divided by the intervals, commanded Servius Cornelius, tribune of the soldiers, to order them to charge through the same. The fight between the infantry being rather unfavorable to the Romans at the beginning, he was obliged to delay for a time, while the thirteenth legion from the reserve was brought up to the first line, so as to support the twelfth, which had been posted in the left wing against the Illergetians, and which began to give ground. The fight being restored Scipio hastened to Lucius Manlius, who was exerting himself among the foremost battalions, encouraging and supporting his men by a supply of fresh troops wherever occasion required, and acquainted him that matters were safe on the left wing, and that Cornelius Servius, whom he had despatched for the purpose, would quickly assail the enemy on all sides with his cavalry. Scarcely had he uttered these

words when the Roman horse, pushing forwards into the midst of their ranks, threw the line of infantry into confusion, and at the same time closed up the passes by which the Spanish horse were to have advanced to a charge. The Spaniards, therefore, quitting all thoughts of fighting on horseback, dismounted, in order to engage on foot. When the Roman generals perceived the enemy's disorder, that they were confused and terrified, and their battalions wavering, they encouraged, they intreated their men, to 'push them briskly while they were dismayed, and not to suffer their line to be formed again.' The barbarians could not have withstood so furious an onset had not their prince, Indibilis, dismounting with the cavalry, thrown himself into the front of the foremost battalions of infantry. There the contest was supported for some time with great fury. At length those who fought round the king fell, overwhelmed with darts, and he himself, continuing to make resistance, though ready to expire, was pinned to the earth with a javelin; on which their troops betook themselves to flight in all parts. The number of the slain was the greater, because the horsemen had not time to remount their horses, being vigorously pressed by the Romans, who did not relax in the least until they had driven them from their camp. There fell on that day, of the Spaniards, thirteen thousand, and about eight hundred were taken. Of the Romans and their allies, little more than two hundred were killed, most of them on the left wing. The Spaniards who were beaten out of the camp, or who had escaped from the battle, at first dispersed about the country, and afterwards returned to their respective homes. They were soon after summoned thence to an assembly by Mandonius, where, after complaining heavily of their losses, and severely censuring the advisers of the war, they came to a resolution that ambassadors should be sent to Scipio with proposals to make surrender of themselves. These laid the blame on Indibilis and the other chiefs, most of whom had fallen in battle, offering to deliver up

their arms. They received for answer that 'their surrender would be accepted, provided they delivered up alive Mandonius and the other promoters of the war; that if this condition was not complied with the Romans would lead their armies into the lands of the Illergetians and Ausetanians, and afterwards into those of the other states.' This answer the ambassadors carried back to the assembly; and there Mandonius and the other chiefs were seized and delivered up to punishment. Terms of peace were then settled with the states of Spain, who were ordered to pay double taxes for that year, and to supply corn for six months, together with cloaks and vests for the army, hostages being received from about thirty states. This tumultuary rebellion in Spain having been thus suppressed, without any great difficulty, within the space of a few days after its commencement, every warlike operation was directed against Africa.

4. Caius Lælius, having arrived in the night at Hippo Royal, led out his soldiers and marines in regular bodies, at the first light, in order to ravage the country; and, as the inhabitants had taken no precautions more than if it had been a time of peace, great damage was done, and affrighted messengers filled Carthage with the most violent alarms; affirming that the Roman fleet had arrived, and that it was commanded by Scipio, of whose passing into Sicily they had already heard. Nor could they tell, with any degree of exactness, while their fears aggravated every circumstance, how many ships they had seen, or what number of men they had landed. At first, therefore, consternation and terror, afterwards melancholy dejection, seized the people's minds, reflecting on the reverse of fortune which had taken place, and lamenting that 'they who lately, flushed with success, had their forces lying at the gates of Rome, and after cutting off so many armies of the enemy, had made almost every state in Italy submit to them, either through fear or choice, were now, from the current of success having turned against them, to behold the devastation of

Africa, and the siege of Carthage; and when they possessed not by any means such a degree of strength as the Romans had enjoyed to support them under those calamities. The latter had received, from the commonalty of Rome, and from Latium, continually increasing supplies of young men in the room of so many legions destroyed: but the citizens of Carthage were unwarlike, and equally so in the country. Auxiliaries, indeed, they had procured for pay from among the Africans; but they were a faithless race, and veering about with every blast of fortune. Then, as to the kings: Syphax, since his conference with Scipio, was apparently estranged from them: Masinissa had openly renounced their alliance, and was become their most inveterate enemy; so that they had no hope, no support on any side. Neither did Mago raise any commotions on the side of Gaul, nor join his forces to Hannibal's: and Hannibal himself was now declining both in reputation and strength.' Their minds, which, in consequence of the late news, had sunk into these desponding reflections, were again recalled, by dread of the impending evils, to consult how they might oppose the present dangers. They resolved to levy soldiers with all haste, both in the city and the country; to hire auxiliaries from the Africans; to strengthen the forts; to collect corn; to prepare weapons and armor; to fit out ships, and send them to Hippo against the Roman fleet. While they were thus employed, news at length arrived that it was Lælius, and not Scipio, who had come over; that his forces were no more than what were sufficient to make plundering incursions; and that the main force of the enemy was still in Sicily. Thus they got time to breathe, and began to despatch embassies to Syphax and the other princes, to endeavor to strengthen their alliances. They also sent to Philip, with a promise of two hundred talents of silver,¹ on condition that he invaded Sicily or Italy. Others were sent to Italy, to their two generals there, with orders

¹ 38,750*l*.

to use every effort to raise the apprehensions of the enemy, so that Scipio might be induced to return home. To Mago they sent not only deputies, but twenty-five ships of war, six thousand foot, eight hundred horse, seven elephants, and also a large sum of money to hire auxiliaries, whose support might encourage him to advance his army nearer to the city of Rome, and effect a junction with Hannibal. Such were the preparations and plans at Carthage. Whilst Lælius was employed in carrying off immense booty from the country, which he found destitute of arms and protection, Masinissa, roused by the report of the arrival of a Roman fleet, came to him attended by a few horsemen. He complained that 'Scipio was dilatory in the business; otherwise before that time he would have brought over his army into Africa, while the Carthaginians were dismayed, and Syphax engaged in wars with his neighbors. That the latter was irresolute and undetermined; and that if time were allowed him to settle his own affairs as he liked, it would be seen that he had no sincere attachment to the Romans.' He desired him to 'exhort and stimulate Scipio to activity;' assuring him that 'he himself, though driven from his kingdom, would join him with no contemptible force, both of horse and foot.' He said that 'Lælius ought not to make any stay in Africa: that he believed a fleet had sailed from Carthage, which it would not be very safe to encounter in the absence of Scipio. After this discourse Masinissa departed; and next day Lælius set sail from Hippo, having his ships laden with spoil; and, returning to Sicily, delivered Masinissa's message to Scipio.

5. About the same time, the ships which had been sent from Carthage to Mago arrived on the coast between the country of the Albingaunian Ligurians and Genoa, near which place the Carthaginian happened at that time to lie with his fleet. On receiving orders from the deputies to collect as great a number of troops as possible, he immediately held a council of the Gauls and Ligurians (for there was a vast multi-

tude of both nations present), and told them that he had been sent for the purpose of restoring them to liberty, and, as they themselves saw, aid was now afforded him from home. But with what force, with how great an army the war was to be carried on, was a matter that depended intirely on them. That there were two Roman armies, one in Gaul, another in Etruria; and he was well assured that Spurius Lucretius would join his forces to those of Marcus Livius; wherefore they on their side must arm many thousands, to enable them to oppose two Roman generals and two armies.' The Gauls answered, that 'they had the strongest inclination to act as he advised; but as they had one Roman army in the heart of their country, and another in the next adjoining province of Etruria, almost within their sight, if it should be publicly known that they gave aid to the Carthaginians, those two armies would immediately commence hostilities against them on both sides.' They requested him to 'demand such assistance only as the Gauls could supply in secret. The Ligurians,' they said, 'were at liberty to determine as they thought fit, the Roman camps being far distant from their lands and cities; besides, it was reasonable that they should arm their youth, and take their part in the war.' This the Ligurians did not decline; they only required two months time to make their levies. Mago, having sent home the Gauls, hired soldiers privately in their country; provisions also of all kinds were sent to him secretly by their several states. Marcus Livius led his army of volunteer slaves from Etruria into Gaul, and having joined Lucretius, kept himself in readiness to oppose Mago, if he should move from Liguria towards the city; intending, if the Carthaginian should keep himself quiet under that corner of the Alps, to continue in the same district, near Ariminum, for the protection of Italy.

6. After the return of Caius Lælius from Africa, although Scipio was urged to expedition by the representations of Masinissa, and the soldiers, on seeing the

spoil which was landed from the ships, were inflamed with a desire of passing over immediately; yet this more important business was interrupted by one of smaller consideration, the recovery of Locri; which, at the time of the general defection of Italy, had revolted to the Carthaginians. The hope of accomplishing this was kindled by a very trifling circumstance: the operations in Bruttium were rather predatory excursions than a regular war; the Numidians having begun the practice, and the Bruttians readily joining in it, not more from their connexion with the Carthaginians, than from their own natural disposition. At length the Romans themselves, by a kind of contagion, became equally fond of plunder; and, when not prevented by their officers, made excursions into the enemy's country. By these, some Locrensians, who had come out of the city, had been surrounded, and carried off to Rhegium; and among whom were some artizans, who happened to have been often hired by the Carthaginians to work in the citadel of Locri. They were known by the chiefs of the Locrensians, who, having been banished by the opposite faction which had given up the city to Hannibal, had retired to Rhegium. The prisoners, after answering many of their inquiries concerning affairs at home, gave them hopes that if they were ransomed and sent back, they might be able to put the citadel into their hands; telling them that they had their residence in it, and were intirely trusted by the Carthaginians. In consequence of this, the said chiefs, who anxiously longed to return to Locri, inflamed at the same time with a desire of revenge, immediately ransomed and sent home these men; having first settled the plan for the execution of their project, with the signals which were to be given and observed between them at a distance. They then went themselves to Scipio, to Syracuse, where some of the exiles were, and informing him of the promises made by the prisoners, inspired probable hopes of success. On this the consul despatched Marcus Sergius and Publius Matienus, military tribunes, (the exiles accompanying

them,) with orders to lead three thousand men from Rhegium to Locri, and for Quintus Pleminius, propretor, to give assistance in the business. These set out as commanded, carrying scaling ladders fitted to the height of the citadel, according to their information, and about midnight they gave the signal from the place appointed, to those who were to betray that fortress. These were prepared, and on the watch; and letting down from their side machines made for the purpose, received the Romans as they climbed up in several places at once. They then fell on the Carthaginian sentinels, who, not apprehending any danger, were fast asleep; their dying groans were the first sound heard. A sudden consternation followed as the remainder awoke, with a general confusion from being wholly ignorant of the cause of alarm. At length, the greater part of them being roused from sleep, the truth was discovered. And now every one called loudly to arms; that the enemy were in the citadel; that the sentinels were slain. The Romans, being much inferior in number, would certainly have been overpowered, had not a shout, raised by those who were at the outside of the citadel, prevented the garrison from discerning on what side the danger threatened, while the darkness of the night aggravated every fear. The Carthaginians, supposing that the citadel had been surprised and taken, without attempting a contest, fled to another fortress not far distant from this. The inhabitants held the city which lay between these strongholds as a prize for the conquerors, slight engagements happening every day. Quintus Pleminius commanded the Roman, Hamilcar the Carthaginian garrison, both of whom increased their forces daily, by calling in aid from the neighboring places. At length Hannibal prepared to come thither, so that the Romans could not have kept their ground had not the principal part of the Locrensiens, exasperated by the pride and avarice of the Carthaginians, inclined to their side.

7. As soon as Scipio was informed that the danger increased at Locri, and that Hannibal was approach-

ing, he began to fear, lest even the garrison might be endangered, as it was not easy to retreat from it: he therefore left the command at Messana to his brother, Lucius Scipio, and going on board as soon as the tide turned, he let his ships drive with the current. On the other hand, Hannibal sent forward directions from the river Aleces, which is not far from Locri, that his party, at dawn of day, should attack the Romans and Locrensiens with their whole force; in order that, while the attention of all should be turned to the tumult occasioned thereby, he might make an unexpected assault on the opposite side of the city. When, at the first appearance of daylight, he found that the battle was begun, he did not choose to attempt the citadel, in which there was not room, had he even gained it, for such numbers to act, nor had he brought ladders to effect a scalade. Ordering therefore the baggage to be thrown together in a heap, he drew up his army at a little distance from the walls, to terrify the enemy; and while all things necessary for the assault were getting ready, he rode round the city with some Numidian horsemen to find out the properest place at which it might be made. As he advanced near the rampart, the person next to him happened to be struck by a dart from a scorpion: he was so terrified at the danger to which he had been exposed, that he ordered a retreat to be sounded, and fortified his camp far beyond the reach of a weapon. The Roman fleet arrived from Messana at Locri, while some hours of day remained, so that the troops were all landed and brought into the city before sunset. Next day, the Carthaginians, from the citadel, began the fight. Hannibal, now furnished with scaling ladders, and every thing proper for an assault, was coming up to the walls, when on a sudden a gate flying open, the Romans rushed out on him, when he apprehended nothing less than such an encounter, and, as the attack was unexpected, two hundred of his men were slain. The rest Hannibal carried back to the camp, as soon as he understood that the consul was there in person; and

sending directions to those who were in the lesser citadel to take care of themselves, he decamped by night. On which, setting fire to the houses there, in order to obstruct any operations of the enemy, they hastened away, as if flying from a pursuit, and overtook the main body of their army at the close of day.

8. When Scipio saw both citadel and camp deserted by the enemy, he summoned the Locrensians to an assembly, rebuked them severely for their revolt, inflicted punishment on the chief promoters of it, and bestowed their effects on the leaders of the opposite faction, as a reward for their extraordinary fidelity towards the Romans. As to the community of the Locrensians, he said, 'he would neither make any grant to them, nor take any thing from them. Let them send ambassadors to Rome, where they would obtain such a settlement of their affairs as the senate should judge reasonable. Of this he was confident, that, though they had deserved harsh treatment from the greatly provoked Romans, they would yet enjoy a better state in subjection to them, than under their professed friends the Carthaginians.' Then, leaving Quintus Pleminius, lieutenant-general, with the troops which had taken the citadel, to defend the city, he returned to Messana with the forces which he had brought from thence. The Locrensians, after their revolt from the Romans, had been treated by the Carthaginians with such haughtiness and cruelty, that they could now have endured a lesser degree of severity not only with patience, but almost with content. But in all excesses, so much did Pleminius surpass Hamilcar, who had commanded their garrison, and the Roman soldiers the Carthaginians, that there seemed to be a greater emulation between them in vices than in arms. Not one of those acts, which render the power of a superior odious to the helpless, was left unpractised on the inhabitants by the commander or his troops: the most shocking insults were offered to their persons, to their children, and to their wives. Nor did their avarice refrain even from the plundering of things sa-

cred; insomuch, that not only the temples were violated, but even the treasure of Proserpine was seized, which through all ages had remained untouched, except by Pyrrhus, who made restitution of the spoil, together with a large atonement for his sacrilege. Therefore, as at that time the king's ships, after being wrecked and shattered, had brought nothing safe to land, except the sacred money of the goddess, so now, that same money, by a different kind of vengeance, inspired with madness all those who were polluted by the robbery of the temple, and turned them against each other with hostile fury, general against general, soldier against soldier.

9. Pleminius was governor in chief; that part of the soldiers which he had brought with him from Rhegium was under his own immediate command: the rest under military tribunes. These tribunes, Sergius and Matienus, happened to meet one of Pleminius' soldiers running away with a silver cup, which he had taken by force out of the house of a citizen, the owners pursuing him: on the cup being taken from him by order of the tribunes, at first ill language was used, then ensued clamor; and at length a scuffle between the soldiers of Pleminius and those of the tribunes. The disturbance increasing, as any happened to come up to assist their party, Pleminius' men, being worsted, ran to him in crowds, showing their blood and wounds, with violent outcries and expressions of resentment, and recounting the reproaches that had been thrown on himself; which so inflamed him, that rushing out of his house, and calling the tribunes before him, he ordered them to be stripped, and the rods to be prepared. As some time was spent in stripping them, (for they made resistance, and implored aid,) on a sudden their own soldiers, rendered bold by their late success, ran together from all parts, as if they had been called to arms against an enemy. On seeing the persons of the tribunes already injured by the rods, they were suddenly seized with such ungovernable rage, that without regard either to his dignity, or even

to humanity, after having cruelly abused his lictors, they assaulted the general himself; and having surrounded and separated him from his party, they dreadfully mangled him, cutting off his nose and ears, and leaving him almost without life. Accounts of these transactions being carried to Messana, Scipio, a few days after, sailed over to Locri in a ship of six banks of oars; and having brought Pleminius and the tribunes to trial before him, he acquitted Pleminius, and continued him in the command of the place; adjudged the tribunes guilty, and threw them into chains, that they might be sent to Rome to the senate: he then returned to Messana, and went from thence to Syracuse. Pleminius, giving a loose to his rage, because he thought that the injury done him had been treated too lightly by Scipio, and that no other person was qualified to rate the penalty in such a case but he who had suffered the wrong, ordered the tribunes to be dragged before him. After having made them undergo the utmost degree of torture which the human body is capable of enduring, he put them to death; and not satisfied with the punishment thus inflicted, he cast them out without burial. The like cruelty he used towards the chiefs of the Locrensians, who, as he heard, had complained to Scipio of the treatment they had received at his hands. But the extreme severities which he had formerly practised on those allies through lust and avarice, he now multiplied through rage and resentment, bringing infamy and detestation not only on himself, but on the general also.

10. The time of the elections was now drawing near, when a letter was brought to Rome from Publius Licinius the consul, stating that 'he and his army were afflicted with a grievous sickness, and that they could not have stood their ground had not the disorder attacked the enemy with the same or even greater violence. As therefore he could not come to the elections, he would, if the fathers approved of it, nominate Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, dictator, for the purpose of holding them. That it was for the interest of the

state that the army of Quintus Cæcilius should be disbanded, as it could be of no use at present, Hannibal having already retired into winter quarters; and, besides, so powerful was the distemper in that camp, that unless they were speedily separated, not one of them probably would survive.' The senate left it with the consul to determine those matters, in such manner as he should judge best for the good of the nation and his own honor. The city was at that time suddenly engaged in a consideration respecting religion. Frequent showers of stones having fallen, the Sibylline books were on that occasion inspected; in which were found certain verses, importing that 'whenever a foreign enemy shall have carried war into the land of Italy, he may be expelled and conquered, if the Idæan Mother be brought from Pessinus to Rome.' These verses, discovered by the decemvirs, affected the senate the more, because the ambassadors, who had carried the offering to Delphi, affirmed also that they had performed sacrifice, and consulted the Pythian Apollo; and that the oracle had answered that the Romans would soon obtain a much greater victory than that which gave them the spoils of which their offering was composed. They considered as a confirmation of the same that Scipio's mind was impelled, as it were, by some presages of an end to the war, when he had so earnestly insisted on having Africa for his province. In order, therefore, that they might the sooner acquire the enjoyment of this triumph, portended to them by the fates, omens, and oracles, they set about considering how the goddess might be transported to Rome.

11. The Romans were not in alliance with any of the states of Asia. However, recollecting that Æsculapius had formerly, on occasion of a pestilence, been brought from Greece before any connexion with that country; that they had already commenced a friendship with king Attalus, on account of their being united in the war against Philip, and that he would probably do any thing in his power to oblige the Roman people,

they came to a resolution of sending as ambassadors to him Marcus Valerius Lævinus, who had been twice consul, and had commanded in Greece; Marcus Cæcilius Metellus, who had been pretor; Servius Sulpicius Galba, who had been edile; and two who had been questors, Caius Tremellius Flaccus and Marcus Valerius Falto. A convoy of five quinqueremes was ordered for them, that they might appear with suitable grandeur in those countries where they wished to procure a respect for the Roman name. The ambassadors in their way to Asia, having landed and gone to Delphi to the oracle, inquired what hopes might be entertained of accomplishing the business on which they had been sent: they were answered, it is said, that 'they would obtain what they were in search of by means of king Attalus; and that when they should have carried the goddess to Rome, they were to take care that the best man in the city was the exerciser of the laws of hospitality towards her.' On coming to the king at Pergamus, he received them kindly, conducted them to Pessinus in Phrygia, delivered to them the sacred stone, which the natives said was the mother of the gods, and desired them to convey it to Rome. Marcus Valerius Falto, being sent homeward before the rest, brought an account that they were returning with the goddess; and that the best man in Rome must be sought out to pay her the due rites of hospitality. Quintus Cæcilius Metellus was, by the consul in Bruttium, nominated dictator, for the purpose of holding the elections, and his army was disbanded. Lucius Veturius Philo was made master of the horse. The elections were held by the dictator: the consuls elected were Marcus Cornelius Cethegus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, the latter absent, being employed in the province of Greece. The pretors were then elected: Tiberius Claudius Nero, Marcus Marcius Rolla, Lucius Scribonius Libo, and Marcus Pomponius Matho. As soon as the elections were finished, the dictator resigned his office. The Roman games were repeated thrice, the plebeian seven times.

The curule ediles were Cneius and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus. Lucius held the province of Spain, and being elected while there, continued absent during the whole time of his office. Tiberius Claudius Asellus and Marcus Junius Pennus were plebeian ediles. In that year Marcus Marcellus dedicated the temple of Virtue, at the Capuan gate, seventeen years after it had been vowed by his father at Clastidium in Gaul, during his first consulate. Marcus Æmilius Regillus, flamen of Mars, died that year.

12. During the two last years the affairs of Greece had been neglected; a circumstance which enabled Philip to reduce the Ætolians, thus forsaken by the Romans, on whose aid alone they relied. They were therefore obliged to sue for, and agree to a peace on such terms as the king should impose: but had he not used every effort to hasten the conclusion of it, Publius Sempronius, proconsul, who succeeded Sulpicius in the command, would have fallen on him (while engaged in settling the treaty) with ten thousand foot, one thousand horse, and thirty-five ships of war; no small force in support of an ally. The peace was scarcely concluded, when news was brought to Philip that the Romans had come to Dyrrachium; that the Parthinians, and other neighboring nations, seeing a prospect of changing their situation, were in motion, and that Dimallum was besieged. The Romans had turned their operations to that side, instead of going forward to the assistance of the Ætolians, whither they had been sent, provoked at the peace thus made with the king without their concurrence, and contrary to the treaty. On the receipt of this news, Philip, fearing lest some greater commotions might arise among the neighboring nations and states, proceeded by long marches to Apollonia, to which place Sempronius had retired, after sending his lieutenant-general, Lætorius, with part of the forces and fifteen ships, to Ætolia, that he might take a view of the situation of affairs, and, if possible, annihilate the compact of that people with the Macedonian. Philip

laid waste the lands of the Apollonians, and, marching his forces up to the city, offered the Romans battle; they, however, remained quiet, only defending the walls, while his force was insufficient for laying siege to the place. He was yet desirous of concluding a peace with the Romans, as with the Ætolians; or, if that could not be accomplished, of obtaining a truce; and, not choosing to provoke their resentment farther by a new contest, he withdrew into his own kingdom. At the same time the Epirots, wearied by the length of the war, having first tried the disposition of the Romans, sent ambassadors to Philip concerning a general peace; affirming that they were very confident it might be brought about, if he would come to a conference with Publius Sempronius, the Roman general. They easily prevailed on him to pass into Epirus, for the king himself was not averse from the measure. There is a city in Epirus called Phœnice; there Philip, having conferred with Eropus, and Dardas, and Philip, pretors of the Epirots, had afterwards a meeting with Publius Sempronius. Amynder also, king of the Athamanians, was present at the conference, together with other magistrates of the Epirots and Acarnanians. Philip the pretor spoke first, and intreated both the king and the Roman general to put an end to hostilities; and to consider, in a favorable light, the liberty which the Epirots took in mediating between them. Publius Sempronius dictated the terms of peace:—That the Parthinians, and Dimallum, and Bargulum, and Bugenium, should be under the dominion of the Romans; that Atintania should be ceded to the Macedonian, if, on sending ambassadors, he should obtain it from the senate. Peace being agreed to on these terms, the king included in the treaty Prusias, king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots. On the side of the Romans were included the Ilrians, king Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis, tyrant of the Lacedæmonians, the Eleans, Messenians, and Athenians. The conditions were committed to writing, and signed by both parties, a

truce being made for two months to allow time for ambassadors to be sent to Rome, in order that the people might ratify the whole. Every one of the tribes assented to it, because, having turned their efforts against Africa, they wished to be eased for the present from every other enemy. When all was settled, Publius Sempronius went home to Rome to attend to the duties of his consulship.

13. In the consulate of Marcus Cornelius and Publius Sempronius, which was the fifteenth year of the Punic war, [A. U. C. 548. B. C. 204] the provinces were thus decreed :—to Cornelius, Etruria, with the old army ; to Sempronius, Bruttium, with power to levy new legions. Of the pretors, to Marcus Marcius fell the city jurisdiction ; to Lucius Scribonius Libo, the foreign, and to the same person, Gaul ; to Marcus Pomponius Matho, Sicily ; and to Tiberius Claudius Nero, Sardinia. Publius Scipio's command was prolonged for a year, with the same army and the same fleet he then had : as was also that of Publius Licinius, who was ordered to hold Bruttium, with two legions, as long as the consul should judge it to be for the interest of the state that he should continue in that province. Marcus Livius, and Spurius Lucretius, also held on their commissions, with the two legions with which they had protected Gaul against Mago ; and likewise Cneius Octavius, who, after delivering up Sardinia and the legion to Tiberius Claudius, was, with forty ships of war, to defend the sea-coast, within such limits as the senate should appoint. To Marcus Pomponius, pretor in Sicily, two legions of the forces that had been at Cannæ were decreed ; and it was ordered, that, of the propritors, (Titus Quintius and Caius Hostilius Tubulus,) the former should hold Tarentum, the latter Capua, as in the former year, each with the old garrison. With respect to Spain, it was referred to the people to determine on the two proconsuls who should be sent thither ; when all the tribes agreed in ordering Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, in quality of proconsuls, to hold the

command of that province in the same manner as they had held it the year before. The consuls gave directions for a levy of soldiers, out of whom they might at once form the new legions for Bruttium, and fill up the numbers of the other armies; for such were the orders of the senate.

14. Africa had not yet been publicly declared a province—the senate, I suppose, keeping the matter secret, lest the Carthaginians should get intelligence of it. The city, however, was filled with sanguine hopes that a decisive blow would soon be struck on that shore, and that there would be an end to the Punic war. From this cause arose abundance of superstitious notions; and the minds of the people became disposed both to believe and to propagate accounts of prodigies, of which a very great number were reported: ‘that two suns had been seen, and that in the night-time light had suddenly appeared: that at Setia a blaze like that of a torch had been observed, extending from east to west: that at Tarracina a gate, and at Anagnia, both a gate and several parts of the wall had been struck by lightning: that in the temple of Juno Sospita, at Lanuvium, a great noise had been heard, succeeded by a dreadful crash.’ For the expiation of these, there was a supplication of one day’s continuance; and nine days were set apart for religious offices, on account of a shower of stones that had fallen. In addition to these matters, they had to consult on the reception to be given to the Idæan mother. For, besides the account brought by Marcus Valerius, (one of the ambassadors who had come before the rest,) that the goddess would soon be in Italy, a late account had been received that she was at Tarracina. The senate also was engaged in the decision of a question of no trifling importance—who was the best man in the city? A well-grounded preference in that point, every one would certainly value much more highly than any honors which could be conferred by the votes either of the senate or the people. They gave their judgment, that Publius Scipio, son of

Cneius who had fallen in Spain, (a youth who had not yet obtained a questorship,) was the best of all the good men in Rome. If the authors who wrote in the times nearest to this transaction, and when the memory of it was fresh, had mentioned the particular merits which induced them to make this determination, I should gladly have handed down the information to posterity : but I will not obtrude any opinion of my own, formed, as it must be, on conjecture, when relative to a matter buried in the obscurity of remote antiquity. Publius Cornelius was accordingly ordered to repair to Ostia, to meet the goddess, attended by all the matrons ; to receive her himself from the ship, and then to deliver her to the said matrons, to be transported to the city. Scipio, falling down the river Tiber, as had been ordered, received the goddess from the priests, and conveyed her to the land. She was there received by the above-mentioned women, and who were the principal of the city, among whom the name of Claudia Quinta alone has been distinguished ; for her character, as is said, having at one time been dubious, the share which she had in this solemn act of religion rendered her chastity no longer questionable, and she became illustrious among posterity. These, relieving each other in succession, carried this saving divinity into the temple of Victory, on the Palatine hill, whilst all the city poured out to meet her, censers being placed before the doors, wherever the procession passed, and incense burned in them ; all praying that she would enter the city with good-will, and a favorable disposition. This happened on the day preceding the ides of April ; and which was appointed a festival. The people in crowds carried presents to the goddess, and there was a religious feast ordained, with games called Megalesian.

15. When they came to consider of the supplies for the legions that were in the provinces, it was suggested by certain of the senators that there were some things which, however they might have been tolerated in times of distress, ought not to be any longer endured ;

since, by the favor of the gods, they had been delivered from the apprehension of danger. The attention of the fathers being roused, they proceeded to mention, that the twelve Latine colonies which had refused a supply of soldiers to Quintus Fabius and Quintus Fulvius, when consuls, enjoyed now, for almost the sixth year, an immunity from serving in war, as if it had been a privilege granted to do them honor, and on account of their good conduct; while the worthy and dutiful allies, in return for their fidelity and obedience, had been exhausted by continual levies through the course of many years. These words at once recalled to the recollection of the senate a matter which had been almost forgotten, and at the same time roused their resentment; so that before they suffered the consuls to proceed on any other business, they decreed, that the consuls should summon to Rome the magistrates, and ten principal inhabitants from each of the following colonies, so privileged: Nepete, Sutrium, Ardea, Cales, Alba, Carseoli, Sara, Suessa, Circeæ, Narnia, and Interamna; and should give them orders, that whatever was the greatest number of soldiers which they had separately furnished to the Roman people, at any time, since the enemy came into Italy, they should now provide to the amount of twice that number of footmen, and one hundred and twenty horsemen: and if any of them were unable to produce so many horsemen, that then they should be allowed to bring three footmen, instead of each horseman. That both horsemen and footmen should be chosen from among the wealthiest orders, and should be sent wherever there was occasion for a supply out of Italy. That if any of them should refuse to comply with this requisition, it was their pleasure that the magistrates and deputies of that colony should be detained; and if they demanded an audience of the senate, that it should not be granted them until they had obeyed those injunctions; and farther, that an annual tax of one ass on every thousand which they possessed, should be imposed on them. That a survey of persons

and estates should be made in those colonies, according to a regulation of the Roman censors, which should be the same that was directed for the Roman people; and a return of this made at Rome by the censors of the said colonies on their oaths, and before they went out of office.' The magistrates and principal inhabitants of the places in question being summoned to Rome, in pursuance of this decree of the senate, and receiving the commands of the consuls respecting the soldiers and the tax, they all declared violently against them, exclaiming, 'that it was impossible for them to raise such a number of soldiers; they could scarcely accomplish it if their whole property were to be intreated by the regulation. They begged and intreated that they might be allowed to appear before the senate, and implore a mitigation of their sentence. They had been guilty of no crime that deserved to be punished by their ruin; but, even if they were to be ruined, neither their own guilt, nor the resentment of the Roman people could make them furnish a greater number of soldiers than they actually had.' The consuls, unmoved, ordered the deputies to remain at Rome, and the magistrates to go home to make the levies; assuring them, that 'they should have no audience of the senate until they had strictly fulfilled its orders. Their hopes of obtaining an audience being thus cut off, the levies were completed without difficulty; the number of young men in those colonies being much increased by their having been so long exempt from service.

16. Another affair also, and which had been almost as long passed over in silence, was proposed for consideration by Marcus Valerius Lævinus; who said, 'it was highly reasonable that the several sums of money which had been contributed by private persons, when Marcus Claudius and himself were consuls, should now be repaid. That no one ought to be surprised at his thus appearing in an affair wherein the public faith was pledged; for besides that in some respect it peculiarly concerned the consul of that year

in which the money had been advanced, he had also been the first adviser of the same, on account of the emptiness of the treasury, and the inability of the people to pay taxes.' The senate were well pleased at being reminded of this matter, and the consuls being ordered to propose the question, decreed, that ' money should be discharged in three payments: that the present consuls should make the first payment immediately; and that the other two instalments should be made by the third and fifth consuls from that time.' All their cares soon after gave place to one alone: when, on the arrival of ambassadors, they were made acquainted with the grievances of the Locrensiens, of which, until that day they had been ignorant; grievances which greatly disturbed the people, who were, however, less provoked at the villany of Quintus Pleminius, than at the partiality or negligence shown in the business by Scipio. As the consuls were sitting in the comitium, ten ambassadors of the Locrensiens in squalid mourning apparel, holding out branches of olive (the badges of suppliants), according to the Grecian custom, prostrated themselves on the ground before the tribunal with lamentable cries. On inquiring who they were, they answered, ' that they were Locrensiens, who had experienced such treatment from Quintus Pleminius, the lieutenant-general, and his soldiers, as the Roman people would not wish even the Carthaginians to suffer; and that they requested the favor of being admitted to an audience of the senate, that they might represent to them their deplorable situation.'

17. An audience being granted, the eldest of them spoke to this effect: ' Conscript fathers, I know that it would tend exceedingly to increase the regard which you may think proper to afford to our complaints, if you were fully informed of the manner in which Locri was betrayed to Hannibal, and also by what means the Carthaginian garrison was expelled, and the town re-established under your dominion: for if the people generally taken, were intirely clear of the guilt of the

revolt, and if it also appeared that our return to obedience, and to acknowledgement of your authority, was not only voluntary, but effected by our own co-operation and courage, you would see the greater indignation at such grievous and unmerited injuries being inflicted on good and faithful allies, by your lieutenant-general and his soldiers. But I think it better to defer the subject of our changes of party to another time; and that for two reasons: first, that it may be discussed in the presence of Publius Scipio, who regained possession of Locri, and was a witness of our behavior, whether good or bad; and secondly, that, let our conduct have been what it may, we ought not to have suffered the evils which have been poured on us. We cannot, conscript fathers, disown, that while we had a Carthaginian garrison, we suffered many cruelties and indignities, as well from Hamilcar the commander there, as from the Numidians and Africans. But what are these, when compared with what we this day endure? I request, conscript fathers, that you will hear, without being offended, what I unwillingly mention. All mankind are in suspense whether they are to see you or the Carthaginians sovereigns of the world. Now, if an estimation were to be formed of the Roman and Carthaginian governments from the treatment which we of Locri have borne on the one hand, and from that which on the other we at this present time bear, without remission, from your garrison, there is no one who would not rather choose Africans than Romans for his masters. Yet, observe what dispositions the Locrensiens have, notwithstanding, shown towards you. When we were ill treated by the Carthaginians in a much less degree, we had recourse to your general for redress. Now, when we suffer from your garrison worse than hostile cruelty, we have carried our complaints to no other but to you. Conscript fathers, you will consider our desperate situation, or we are left without any resource for which we can even pray to the immortal gods. Quintus Pleminius, lieutenant-general, was sent with a body of troops to

recover Locri from the Carthaginians, and was left with those troops to garrison the town. In this your officer, conscript fathers, (the extremity of our miseries gives me spirit to speak freely,) there is nothing of a man but the figure and appearance; nor of a Roman citizen, but the features, the dress, and the sound of the Latine language. He is a pestilent and savage monster; such as fables tell us formerly lay on each side of the strait which divides us from Sicily, causing the destruction of mariners. If however he had been content with practising his own atrocities alone against us your allies, that one gulf, however deep, we should patiently have filled up. As the case at present stands, he has made every one of your centurions and soldiers a Pleminius; so much does he wish to render licentiousness and wickedness universal. All rob, spoil, beat, wound, slay; ravish both matrons and virgins; while free-born children are torn from the embraces of their parents. Our city is every day stormed, every day plundered; all parts of it resound with the lamentations of women and children, who are seized and dragged away. Whoever knows our sufferings cannot but be surprised that we still subsist under them, and that our persecutors are not yet wearied. It is neither in my power to recapitulate, nor ought you to be troubled with hearing the particulars of our calamities; I shall comprise them in general terms. I affirm that there is not one house, that there is not one man in Locri, exempt from injury; I affirm that there is no instance of cruelty, lust, or avarice, which has not been put in practice against every one capable of being the object of it. It is scarcely possible to estimate which was the more lamentable disaster to the city, its being taken in war by the enemy, or its being crushed under the violence and arms of a tyrant sent to protect it, yet bent on its destruction. Every evil, conscript fathers, which cities taken by storm suffer, we have suffered, and still continue to suffer, without remission. Every kind of barbarity which the most merciless and unreasonable tyrants practise

against their oppressed countrymen, has Pleminius practised against us, our children, and our wives.

18. 'There is one thing, conscript fathers, concerning which we are obliged, by the regard to religion impressed on our minds, both to make a particular complaint, and to express our wish that you may think proper so to attend to the same as to free your state from any guilt resulting from it: for we have seen with what due solemnity you not only worship your own but even receive foreign deities. We have a temple of Proserpine of extraordinary sanctity, of which probably some account may have reached you during the war with Pyrrhus; for in his return from Sicily, sailing near Locri with his fleet, among other violent outrages against our city, on account of our fidelity to you, he plundered the treasures of Proserpine, which to that day had ever remained untouched; and then, putting the money on board his ships, he left the land. What was then the result, conscript fathers? His fleet was next day shattered by a most furious tempest, and all the vessels which carried the sacred treasures were thrown on our coasts. By the greatness of this calamity that haughty king, being at length convinced that there were gods, ordered all the money to be searched for, collected, and carried back to the treasury of Proserpine. Never afterwards was he successful in any one instance; but after being driven out of Italy, and having entered Argos inconsiderately by night, he fell by an ignoble hand; he met a dishonorable death. Although your lieutenant-general and military tribunes had heard these and many other such things, (which were not contrived for the purpose of increasing respect to the deity, but presented to the observation of our ancestors and selves, through the immediate influence of the goddess,) yet, notwithstanding this, I say, they dared to lay their impious hands on the treasures, till then untouched, except in the instance of Pyrrhus, and with the sacrilegious spoil to pollute themselves, their families, and your armies; whose service, we beseech you, conscript fathers, for

your own sakes, for your honor's sake, not to employ in any business, either in Italy or in Africa, until you have first expiated their guilt, lest they atone for the crimes which they have committed, not by their own blood merely, but by some public disaster; although, even at present, the anger of the goddess does not fail to show itself against both your officers and men. They have already, more than once, engaged each other in pitched battles. Pleminius was leader of one party, the two military tribunes of the other; never did they use their weapons with more eagerness against the Carthaginians than on this occasion; and, by their mad proceedings, they would have afforded Hannibal an opportunity of recovering the possession of Locri, had not Scipio, whom we sent for, arrived in time to prevent it. It may be said, perhaps, that the subalterns who had been polluted by the sacrilege, were alone agitated with frenzy, and that no influence of the goddess appeared in punishing the officers; whereas, in fact, it has been here most conspicuous. The tribunes were scourged with rods by the lieutenant-general; afterwards, the lieutenant-general was treacherously seized by the tribunes, and, his whole body being mangled, and his nose and ears cut off, he was left apparently lifeless. Recovering from his wounds, he threw the military tribunes into chains, scourged them, made them suffer every kind of torture usually inflicted only on slaves, put them to a cruel death, and then prohibited them the rites of burial. Such penalties has the goddess exacted from the plunderers of her temple; nor will she desist from harassing them with every kind of frenzy until the sacred money shall be replaced in the treasury. Our ancestors, being engaged in a grievous war with the Crotonians, intended, because this temple lies without the walls, to remove the money therein deposited into the city; when a voice was heard by night, from the shrine, commanding them to desist; for that the goddess would defend her own treasures. This admonition arrested their hands; yet, when intending to surround the temple

with a wall, and which they had raised to some height, it suddenly fell down in ruins. Thus it is seen that not only now, but at several other times, the goddess has either secured her own habitation—her sacred fane, or has exacted heavy atonements from those who dared to violate it. Our injuries she cannot avenge; conscript fathers, it can alone be done by you. To you, and to your honor, we fly, and, as suppliants, implore relief. For whether you suffer Locri to continue under the present lieutenant-general and garrison, or deliver our countrymen up to Hannibal and the Carthaginians, to be punished as their anger may direct, it will be equally fatal to them. We do not require that you should, at once, give credit to us, and to charges made in the general's absence, or without allowing him to make his defence: let him come, let him hear them in person; let him clear himself of them, if he can. In fine, if there be any act of iniquity which one man can commit against others, that he has not committed against us, we consent, if it be possible, again to endure our griefs, and that he shall be acquitted of all guilt towards both gods and men.'

19. When the ambassadors had concluded their discourse, being asked by Quintus Fabius whether they had laid those complaints before Publius Scipio, they answered, that 'an embassy had been sent to him, but that he was taken up with the preparations for the war; and that, either before this time he had passed over into Africa, or would do so in a very few days. That they had experienced what great interest the lieutenant-general had with the commander, when, after hearing the cause between him and the tribunes, he threw the tribunes into chains, and left the lieutenant-general, who was equally guilty, or rather more so, in possession of the same power as before.' The ambassadors being ordered to withdraw, the principal senators inveighed severely not only against Pleminius, but against Scipio also; but, above all, Quintus Fabius, who asserted that 'he was born for the corruption of military discipline; that, through such con-

duct, he had lost, in Spain, nearly as many men by mutiny as in war; that he both indulged the licentiousness of the soldiers, and let his own passions loose against them, in a manner customary only among foreigners and kings.' To this speech he added a resolution equally harsh: that 'they should pass a vote that Quintus Pleminius, lieutenant-general, be brought to Rome, and stand his trial in chains; and that, if the complaints of the Locrensiens should appear to be well founded, he should be put to death in prison, and his effects confiscated: that Publius Scipio, on account of his having gone out of his province without an order of the senate, should be recalled; and that application should be made to the tribunes of the commons to take the sense of the people of the abrogating of his commission: that the Locrensiens should be called in, and receive this answer from the senate: that, as to the injuries stated to have been done to them, neither the senate nor the people of Rome approved of their being done: that they should be complimented with the appellations of worthy men, allies, and friends: that their children, their wives, and whatever else had been taken from them by violence, should be restored: that a search should be made for the intire money which had been carried off from the temple of Proserpine, and that double the sum should be replaced in the treasury: that a solemn expiation should be performed, the college of pontiffs being first consulted on this question: inasmuch as the sacred treasures had been removed and violated, what atonements, to what gods, and with what victims, should they be made? that the soldiers who were at Locri should be all transported into Sicily; and that four cohorts of allies of the Latine confederacy should be brought to Locri for a garrison.' The collecting of the votes could not be finished that day, the zeal of the parties for and against Scipio rising to a great degree of warmth; for, besides the crime of Pleminius, and the calamities of the Locrensiens, the general's own manner of living was represented as so far from being Roman, that it

was not even military ; that ' he walked in the public place, having a cloak and slippers ; that he gave much of his time to books of entertainment, and the schools of exercise ; and that his whole corps of officers, with equal indolence and effeminacy, indulged in all the pleasures of Syracuse ; that Carthage was quite forgotten among them ; that the whole army, (debauched and licentious, like that at Sucro in Spain, or that now at Locri,) was more formidable to the allies than to the enemy.'

20. These representations were compounded of a mixture of truth and falsehood, yet carrying an appearance of the former. The opinion of Quintus Metellus however prevailed ; who, concurring with Maximus in the other points, dissented from him in that concerning Scipio ; affirming that ' it would be the height of inconsistency, if the person whom, when but a youth, the state had some time since made choice of as the only commander capable of recovering Spain ; whom, after he had actually recovered it, they had elected consul for the purpose of putting an end to the Punic war, and whom they conceived able to draw away Hannibal from Italy, and even to subdue Africa :—that this man, as if he were Quintus Pleminius, should be in a manner condemned without a trial, and suddenly recalled from his province, he repeated, were highly inconsistent. The abominable facts which the Locrensiens complain of are not alleged to have been committed when Scipio was present ; nor can any thing else be laid to his charge than the having been tender of the lieutenant-general, either through good nature or respect : that it was his opinion that Marcus Pomponius, the pretor, to whose lot Sicily had fallen, should, within the next three days, repair to his province : that the consuls should choose out of the senate ten deputies, whom they should send along with the pretor, together with two tribunes of the people and an edile ; and that, with the assistance of this council, the pretor should make an inquiry into the affair. If it should be found that the oppressions of the Locren-

sians arose from the orders or with the approbation of Publius Scipio, that they should then command him to quit the province. If Publius Scipio should have already passed over into Africa, that in such case the tribunes of the commons and the edile, with two of the deputies whom the pretor should judge fittest, should immediately proceed thither: the tribunes and the edile to bring back Scipio from thence; the deputies to command the forces until a new general should be appointed. But if Marcus Pomponius and the ten deputies should discover that those severities had not been committed, either by the order or with the approbation of Publius Scipio, that then Scipio should remain with the army, and carry on the war as he had proposed.' A decree of the senate having passed to this effect, application was made to the tribunes of the commons to settle among themselves, or choose by lot, which two were to go with the pretor and deputies. The college of pontiffs was consulted about the expiations to be performed on account of the spoliation in the temple of Proserpine at Locri. Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Marcus Cincius Alimentus, tribunes of the commons, accompanied the pretor and the ten deputies; with whom an edile of the commons was also sent. The instructions were, that should Scipio (whether in Sicily or Africa) refuse to obey the orders of the pretor, the tribunes were to give directions to the edile to apprehend and bring him home, under the authority of their inviolable office. It was intended that they should proceed first to Locri, and then to Messana.

21. Concerning Pleminius, there are two different accounts: some say, that on hearing what had passed at Rome, he was going to Naples into exile, when he happened to meet Quintus Metellus, one of the deputies, and was by him forcibly carried back to Rhegium; others, that Scipio himself had sent a lieutenant-general, with thirty of the most distinguished among the cavalry, to throw Pleminius into chains, and also the principals in the mutiny. All these, however, either by the orders of Scipio before, or of the pretor now,

were given in charge to the inhabitants of Rhegium, to be kept in custody. The pretor and deputies proceeding to Locri, applied their first care, as they had been directed, to the business respecting religion; and causing search to be made for all the sacred money, appropriated both by Pleminius and the soldiers, they replaced it in the treasury together with the sum which they had brought with them, performing a solemn expiation. This done, the pretor calling the soldiers together, ordered them to carry the standards out of the city, and to form a camp in the plain; denouncing, by proclamation, severe penalties against any one who should either stay behind, or carry out with him any thing that was not his own property; at the same time authorising the Locrensians to seize whatever belonged to themselves, and to search for such of their effects as were concealed; above all, insisting that the freedom of their persons should be instantly admitted, with threats of heavy punishment against any one who should disobey this injunction. He then held an assembly of the Locrensians, and told them that 'the Roman people, and the senate, restored to them their liberty and their laws. That if any one meant to bring a charge against Pleminius, or any other person, he must follow them to Rhegium: or if their state had to prefer a complaint against Publius Scipio, as being the author of those crimes which had been perpetrated at Locri against gods and men, that they should then send deputies to Rhegium also, and that he, with the council, would there hear their cause.' The Locrensians returned thanks to the pretor, to the deputies, and to the senate and people of Rome; declaring 'that they would prosecute Pleminius: that, as to Scipio, although he had shown but little feeling for the injuries done them, yet he was such a man as they would much rather have for their friend than their enemy: that they firmly believed the many shocking cruelties which had been practised were neither by the orders or with the approbation of Publius Scipio, who had only given too much credit to Pleminius, too little to them: that some

men's natural disposition was such, that they showed rather a dislike to the commission of faults, than sufficient resolution to punish them, when committed.' This relieved the pretor and council from a heavy burden, that of inquiring into the conduct of Scipio. They condemned Pleminius, with thirty-two others, whom they sent in chains to Rome; and then proceeded to Scipio, that, witnessing all matters, they might carry certain information to Rome as to the truth of those reports which had been propagated concerning his manner of living, inactivity, and total relaxation of military discipline.

22. While they were on their way to Syracuse, Scipio prepared, not words, but facts, to clear himself of any charges in the remission of duty. He ordered all the troops to assemble in that city, and the fleet to be got in readiness, as if, on that day, there was to be an engagement with the Carthaginians both on land and sea. On the arrival of the commissioners, he gave them a kind reception and entertainment, and next day showed them both the land and naval forces, not only marshalled in exact order, but the former performing their evolutions, and the fleet in the harbor exhibiting a representation of a naval combat. The pretor and deputies were then led round to take a view of the armories, granaries, and other warlike preparations: and with such admiration were they struck, of each in particular, and of the whole together, as to become thoroughly persuaded that the Carthaginians would be vanquished by that general and that army, or by no other. They desired him to set out on his voyage, with the blessing of the gods; and to fulfil, as soon as possible, the hopes of the Roman people,—those hopes which they had conceived on that day, when all the centuries concurred in naming him first consul: saying this, they left the place, and with as much joy as if they were to carry to Rome the news of a victory, not of a grand preparation for war. Pleminius, and those who were in the same circumstances with him, were, on their arrival at Rome, immediately

thrown into prison. When first produced by the tribunes, the people found no room for mercy, preposessed as they were by the calamities of the Locrensi-ans. However, after having been repeatedly brought forward, and the odium abating through length of time, the public resentment was softened; while the maimed condition of Pleminius, and the respect they had for Scipio, even in his absence, conciliated for them some degree of favor. Nevertheless, Pleminius died in confinement, and before his trial was finished. Clodius Licinius, in the third book of his Roman history, relates, indeed, that this Pleminius, during the votive games which Africanus, in his second consulate, exhibited at Rome, made an attempt, by means of some persons whom he had bribed, to set fire to the city in several places, that he might have an opportunity of breaking the prison, and making his escape; and that on the discovery of his wicked design, he was committed to the dungeon by order of the senate. Concerning Scipio, there were no proceedings but in the senate, where the encomiums made by all the deputies and the tribunes on that general, his fleet, and army, induced them to vote that he should pass over into Africa as soon as possible; with liberty to make his own choice from out the forces then in Sicily, which to carry with him, and which to leave for the defence of the province.

23. During these transactions at Rome, the Carthaginians, on their side, passed the winter in extreme anxiety. They fixed beacons on every promontory; kept scouts in incessant motion, every messenger filling them with terror. They had acquired, however, an advantage of no small moment towards the defence of Africa,—an alliance with king Syphax; an assistance, on which they supposed the Romans to have relied, and as being their great inducement to set foot on Africa. Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, was not only connected with the king in hospitality (as has been mentioned above, when he and Scipio happened to come to him at the same time from Spain), but mention had been

also made of an affinity to be contracted between them, by the king marrying Hasdrubal's daughter. Hasdrubal had gone with a design of completing this business, and fixing a time for the nuptials, the damsel being now marriageable; and finding him inflamed with love (for the Numidians are, beyond all other barbarians, inclined to amorous pleasures), he sent for her from Carthage, and hastened the wedding. Among other instances of mutual regard and affection, and in order that their private connexion might be cemented by a public one, an alliance between the king and the people of Carthage was ratified by oath, and their faith reciprocally pledged that they would have the same friends and enemies. But Hasdrubal remembered that the king had previously entered into a league with Scipio, and knowing how unsteady and changeable were the minds of the barbarians, he dreaded lest, if Scipio once came into Africa, that match might prove a slender tie; he therefore seized the opportunity while the warmth of the Numidian's new passion was at the highest, and calling to his aid the blandishments of his daughter, prevailed on him to send ambassadors into Sicily to Scipio, and by them to warn him, 'not to be induced, by a reliance on his former promises, to pass over into Africa, for that he was now united to the people of Carthage, both by his marriage with a citizen of that state, daughter of Hasdrubal, whom he had seen entertained in his house, and also by a public treaty. He recommended it strongly to the Romans to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, at a distance from Africa, as they had hitherto done, lest he might be under a necessity of interfering in their disputes, and of joining one or the other, while he wished to decline taking part with either. If Scipio should enter Africa, and advance his army towards Carthage, he must then of necessity fight, as well in defence of the country wherein he himself was born, as in support of the native city of his spouse, her parent, and household gods.'

24. The ambassadors charged with these dispatches

from the king to Scipio had an interview with him at Syracuse. Scipio, though disappointed in a matter of the utmost consequence to the success of his affairs in Africa, and in the high expectations which he had entertained from that quarter, sent back the ambassadors speedily, before their business should become publicly known, and gave them a letter for the king, in which he conjured him, in the most forcible terms, not 'to violate the laws of hospitality; nor the alliance which he had concluded with the Roman people; nor justice, nor faith (their right hands pledged); nor act in any thing offensive to the gods, the witnesses and guarantees of compacts.' The coming of the Numidians was generally known, for they had walked about the city, and had been frequently at the pretorium; so that it was feared, should the subject of their embassy transpire, that the troops might become alarmed at the prospect of being to fight against Syphax and the Carthaginians. Scipio judged it prudent therefore to divert their thoughts from the truth, by prepossessing them with false informations. Calling them to an assembly, he said, 'that there was no room for longer delay: that the kings, their allies, pressed him to pass over to Africa immediately. That Masinissa had before come in person to Lælius, complaining of time being wasted in inactivity; and that Syphax now sent dispatches to the like effect; requiring, that either the troops should at length be carried over to Africa, or if the plan was changed, that he should be made acquainted with it, in order that he might adopt such measures as would be convenient to himself and beneficial to his kingdom. Since, therefore, every preparation had been made, and as the business admitted no longer hesitation, it was his intention, after bringing over the fleet to Lilybæum, and assembling at that place all the forces of horse and foot, to pass into Africa, with the favor of the gods, the first day on which the ships could sail.' He sent a letter to Marcus Pomponius, to come to that port, in order that they might consult together as to what particular legions,

and what number of men he should carry to Africa ; with orders also to all the sea-coast that the ships of burden should be all seized, and brought thither. When the troops and vessels had assembled at Lilybæum, neither could the city contain the men, nor the harbor the ships ; and such an ardent desire to pass into Africa possessed them all, that they appeared, not as if going to be employed in war, but in receiving the rewards of victory already secured ; especially those of the army of Cannæ ; for they expected, by exerting themselves on the present occasion, and under the then general, to put an end to their ignominious service. Scipio showed not the least inclination to reject soldiers of that description, knowing that the misfortune at Cannæ had not arisen from their want of spirit, and that, besides, there were none in the Roman army who had served so long, or who had acquired so much experience, both in a variety of battles, and in attacking towns. The legions of Cannæ were the fifth and sixth. After giving notice that he would carry these to Africa, he reviewed them, man by man, and leaving behind such as he thought unfit for the service, he substituted in their places those whom he had brought from Italy, and filled up those legions in such a manner, that each contained six thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse ; the horse and foot of the allies, of the Latine confederacy, he chose also out of the army of Cannæ.

25. Authors differ widely with regard to the number of men carried over to Africa. In one I find ten thousand foot, and two thousand two hundred horse ; in another sixteen thousand foot, and one thousand six hundred horse ; while others augment them more than half, and assert that thirty-five thousand horse and foot were put on board the ships. Some have not stated the numbers ; and among these, as the matter is uncertain, I choose to place myself. Cœlius, indeed, avoids specifying the same ; but he magnifies to an immense extent the idea that he gives of their multitude : he tells us that birds fell to the ground, stunned by the

shouts of the soldiers : and that it might have been well imagined that there was not a man left behind either in Italy or in Sicily. Scipio took on himself the charge of embarking the men in a regular manner. The seamen were kept in order on board the ships by Caius Lælius, who had the command of the fleet. The care of shipping the stores was allotted to Marcus Pomponius, the pretor. A quantity of food sufficient for forty-five days was put on board : as much of it ready-dressed as would serve for fifteen days. When all were embarked, the general sent round boats to bring the pilots and masters, with two soldiers out of each ship, to the forum, to receive orders. Being there assembled, he first inquired whether they had put water on board for men and cattle, and for as many days as they had corn : they answered that there was water on board for forty-five days. He then charged the soldiers that, attentive to their duty, they should behave themselves quietly, so that the seamen might perform their business without interruption ; informed them that he and Lucius Scipio, with twenty ships of war, would protect the transports on the right division ; and Caius Lælius, commander of the fleet, and Marcus Porcius Cato, the questor, with the same number, those on the left : that the ships of war would carry each a single light, the transports two ; that the signal by night, on board the ship of the commander-in-chief, would consist of three lights. The pilots had orders to steer to Emporium, where the land is remarkably fertile ; consequently the country abounds with plenty of all things. The inhabitants are unwarlike, as is generally the case where the soil is rich ; and Scipio supposed that they might be overpowered before succor could arrive from Carthage. Having issued these orders, he commanded them to return to their ships, and on the signal being given next day, with the favor of the gods, to set sail.

26. Many Roman fleets had sailed from Sicily, and from that same harbor ; but never did any equipment afford so grand a spectacle, either in the present war

(which was not surprising, as most of these fleets had only gone in quest of plunder), or even in any former one. And yet his force could not be fully estimated from a view of the present armament, for not only two consuls with their armies had passed from thence before, but there had been almost as many war-vessels in their fleets as there were transports attending Scipio. These, it is true, were not less than four hundred, but of ships of battle he had only fifty. But the Romans had more alarming apprehensions from one war than from the other; from the second, than from the former; as well by reason of its being waged in Italy, as of the dreadful destruction of so many armies, together with their commanders. Scipio, however, had attracted an extraordinary degree of attention. He had acquired a high degree of renown, partly by his bravery, partly by the happy success which had attended it, and which gave room to expect from him the most glorious achievements. Besides, the very object proposed of passing into the enemy's country, which had not been attempted by any general during that war, strongly roused men's feelings; for he had on all occasions publicly declared that his intention was to draw Hannibal away from Italy, to transfer the war to Africa, and to finish it there. Not only the whole of the inhabitants of Lilybæum crowded together to the harbor to get a view of them, but also deputies from all parts of Sicily; who came for the purpose of showing that mark of respect, not only to Scipio, but to Marcus Pomponius, pretor of the province. The legions likewise, which were to be left on the island, quitted their quarters in compliment to their fellow-soldiers. In a word, the fleet exhibited a grand prospect to those on land, and the land to those on ship-board, it being covered all round with the admiring multitude.

27. As soon as day appeared, a herald having commanded silence, Scipio, in the admiral's ship, spoke thus: 'Ye gods and goddesses, who preside over the seas and lands, I pray and beseech you that whatever affairs have been carried on, or shall hereafter be car-

ried on, during my command, may all conduce to the happiness of myself, the state, and people of Rome; of the allies, and the Latine confederates, who follow my party, command, and auspices, and those of the Roman people on sea, on land, and on rivers. Lend your favorable aid to all those measures, and farther them by happy advancements; bring us all home, unhurt and victorious, decorated with spoils, laden with booty, and exulting in triumph. Grant us the opportunity of taking vengeance on our foes; and whatever attempts the Carthaginian people have made to injure our state, grant to me, and to the Roman people, power to retaliate the same evils on the state of Carthage.' After these prayers, he threw into the sea, according to custom, the raw entrails of a victim which had been slain, and gave by a trumpet the signal for sailing. The wind being favorable and blowing fresh, when they set sail, they were soon carried out of sight of land; but about noon a fog arose, which made it difficult to keep the ships from running foul of each other. As they advanced into the open sea, the wind abated: during the following night the haziness continued, but at the rising of the sun it was dispersed, and the wind freshened. The pilot soon after told Scipio that 'Africa was not above five miles distant; that he saw the promontory of Mercury; and that if he gave orders to steer thither, the whole fleet would be immediately in harbor.' As soon as Scipio came within sight of land, he prayed to the gods that his seeing Africa might be happy for the state, and for himself: he then gave orders to make sail for another landing-place. They proceeded with the same wind; but a fog arising, as on the day before, hid the land from their sight; and increasing as the night came on, involved every object in obscurity. They therefore cast anchor, lest the ships should run foul of each other, or be driven on shore. At daybreak, however, the wind sprung up, dispersed the fog, and discovered the coast of Africa. Scipio, inquiring the name of the nearest promontory, and being told that it was called Cape Fair, said, 'the

omen is pleasing; steer your ships thither.' The fleet ran down accordingly, and all the forces were disembarked. I am inclined to follow the accounts of very many Greek and Latin authors; which are, that the voyage was prosperous, and without danger or confusion. Cœlius alone (except that he does not represent the ships as being lost) gives a narration of every other dreadful occurrence, which could be occasioned by wind or waves; that, at last, the fleet was driven from Africa to the island Ægimurus; that from thence, with difficulty, they recovered their course; and that the men had, without orders from the general, escaped to land in boats from the almost foundering vessels, just, in short, as from a shipwreck, without arms and in the utmost disorder.

28. The troops being landed, formed their camp on the nearest rising grounds. The sight of the fleet, with the bustle of landing, spread consternation and terror, not only through the parts adjoining the sea, but even among the cities: for not only crowds of women and children, mixing with the bands of men, filled up all the roads, but the country people also drove their cattle before them, so that it seemed as if they were all at once forsaking Africa. Those caused much greater terror in the cities than they had felt themselves, particularly at Carthage, where the tumult was almost as great as though the enemy were at its gates; for, since the consulate of Marcus Attilius Regulus and Lucius Manlius, a space of nearly fifty years, they had seen no Roman army, except those predatory squadrons, from which some troops had made descents on the adjoining coast, seizing whatever chance threw in their way, but who had always made a hasty retreat to their ships, and before the peasantry had taken the alarm: for this reason, the consternation and panic was now the greater; and, in fact, they had neither a powerful army at home, nor a general whom they could oppose to the invaders. Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, was by far the first person in the city, not only in character and wealth, but also by reason of his affinity with the king.

They considered however that he had been vanquished, and put to flight in several battles in Spain by this same Scipio; and that, as a commander, he was no more to be equalled with the Roman general, than their tumultuary forces were with the Roman army. The people were therefore called to arms, as though Scipio were ready to attack the city; the gates were hastily shut, armed men placed on the walls, and watches and outposts fixed, together with a regular guard, during the following night. Next day five hundred horsemen, who were despatched to gain intelligence, and to disturb the enemy on their landing, fell in with the advanced guards of the Romans: for Scipio, having sent his fleet to Utica, and proceeded to some distance from the coast, had seized on the next high grounds, placing outposts of cavalry in proper places, and sending others into the country to plunder.

29. These, having met with the Carthaginian horsemen, slew a small number of them in fight, and the greater part of the remainder, as they pursued them flying; among whom was Hanno their commander, a young man of distinction. Scipio not only laid waste the country round, but captured also a very wealthy city which lay near him; in which, besides other things which were immediately put on board the transports and sent to Sicily, there were taken, of freemen and slaves, not less than eight thousand. But what gave the Romans the greatest joy on the commencement of their operations was, the arrival of Masinissa, who came, according to some, with no more than two hundred horsemen; but most authors say with two thousand. Now, as he was by far the greatest of all the kings of that age, and performed the most important services to the Roman state, it appears worth while to digress a little, in order to relate the great vicissitudes of fortune which he experienced in the loss and recovery of his father's kingdom. While he was fighting on the side of the Carthaginians, in Spain, his father, whose name was Gala, died: the kingdom,

according to the custom of the Numidians, came to the king's brother *Æsalces*, who was far advanced in years. In a short time after, *Æsalces* also dying, *Capusa*, the elder of his two sons, the other of whom was very young, got possession of his father's dominions: but his title being supported, more by the regard paid to the right of descent, than from any respect to his character, or any strength which he possessed, there stood forth a person called *Mezetulus*, related by blood in some degree to the royal family. His progenitors, however, had always opposed their interests, and their issue had, with various success, disputed the throne with the branch then in possession. This man, having roused his countrymen to arms, among whom his influence was great, by reason of their dislike to the reigning dynasty, levied open war; so that the king was obliged to take the field, and fight for the crown. In that battle *Capusa* fell, together with a great number of the principal men of the kingdom; while the whole nation of the *Massylians* submitted to the dominion and government of *Mezetulus*. He did not however assume the regal title; but satisfied with the modest one of Protector, gave the name of king to the boy *Lacumaces*, the surviving son of him whom he had slain. In hopes of procuring an alliance with the *Carthaginians*, he took to wife a *Carthaginian* woman of distinction, daughter of *Hannibal's* sister, formerly married to king *Æsalces*; and sending ambassadors to *Syphax*, renewed with him an old connexion of hospitality, endeavoring, by all these measures, to secure a support against *Masinissa*.

30. On the other hand, *Masinissa*, hearing that his uncle was dead, and afterwards that his consin-german was slain, came over from Spain into *Mauritania*. The king of the *Moors* at that time was *Bocchar*: applying to him as a suppliant, he obtained, by the humblest intreaties, four thousand *Moors* to escort him on his journey, not being able to prevail for any aid in the war. When he arrived with these on the frontiers of the kingdom, as he had before despatched messengers

to his own and his father's friends, about five hundred Numidians assembled about him. He then sent back the Moors according to his engagement; and although the numbers that joined him were short of his expectations, and not such as might encourage him to undertake an affair of moment; yet, believing that by entering on action, and making some effort, he should gather strength for a more important enterprise, he threw himself in the way of the young king Lacumaces, as he was going to Syphax at Thapsus. The attendants of Lacumaces flying back in consternation, Masinissa took the city at the first assault, received the submission of some of the king's party who surrendered, and slew others who attempted to resist; but the greatest part of them, with the boy himself, escaped during the tumult to Thapsus, whither they had at first intended to go. The success of Masinissa in this small exploit, and on the first commencement of his operations, drew the regards of the Numidians towards him, while the old soldiers of Gala flocked from all parts of the country and the towns, inviting the young prince to proceed to the recovery of his father's kingdom. Mezetulus was superior in number of men; for, besides the army with which he had conquered Capusa, he was strengthened by some troops who had submitted after the king was slain; the boy Lacumaces having likewise brought succors from Syphax. Mezetulus had fifteen thousand foot, ten thousand horse, with whom Masinissa engaged in battle, though much inferior in number. The valor, however, of the veteran soldiers prevailed, aided by the skill of their leader, who had gained experience in the war between the Romans and Carthaginians. The young king, with his guardian and a small body of Massylians, escaped into the territories of the Carthaginians. Masinissa thus recovered his father's throne; yet, foreseeing that he should have a much more severe struggle to maintain against Syphax, he thought it best to come to a reconciliation with his cousin-german. Proper persons were accordingly sent to give Lacumaces hopes that if he put himself under the pro-

tection of Masinissa, he should enjoy the same honorable provision which *Æsalces* had formerly known under *Gala*; and to assure *Mezetulus* not only of impunity, but of an intire restitution of all his property. As they both preferred a moderate share of fortune at home to exile, he brought them over to his side, notwithstanding the Carthaginians used every means to prevent it.

31. During these transactions *Hasdrubal* happened to be with *Syphax*; and when the Numidian seemed to think that it was of little consequence to him whether the government of the Massylians were in the hands of *Lacumaces* or of *Masinissa*, he told him that ‘he would be greatly mistaken in supposing that *Masinissa* would be content with the acquisitions which had satisfied his father *Gala*, or his uncle *Æsalces*. That he was possessed of much greater spirit and understanding than had ever appeared in any of his race: that he had often in Spain exhibited, both to his allies and enemies, instances of such courage as is very rarely seen: that both *Syphax* and the Carthaginians, unless they smothered that rising flame, would soon be enveloped in a general conflagration, when it would not be in their power to help themselves: that as yet his strength was infirm, and might be easily broken, while he was endeavoring to heal the divisions of his kingdom.’ By such kind of arguments *Syphax* was induced to lead an army to the frontiers of the Massylians, into a district about which there had often been not only verbal disputes, but battles fought with *Gala*; and there to pitch his camp, as if it were his acknowledged property; alleging that, ‘if any opposition were made, which was what was most to be wished, he would have an opportunity of fighting; but if the district were abandoned through fear, he should then proceed into the heart of the kingdom: that the Massylians would either submit to his authority without a contest, or, at all events, would be unable to contend with him.’ Stimulated by such discourses, *Syphax* made war on *Masinissa*, and in the first encounter

routed and dispersed the Massylians. Masinissa fled from the field, attended only by a few horsemen, to a mountain which the natives call Balbus. A number of families with their tents and cattle, which is all their wealth, followed their king; the rest of the Massylians submitted to Syphax. The mountain of which the fugitive took possession abounds with grass and water; and as it was thus well adapted to the grazing of cattle, it supplied abundance of food to feed men living on flesh and milk. Excursions from hence were made through all the neighboring parts; at first secretly and by night; afterwards openly. The lands of the Carthaginians suffered most, because there was greater plenty of spoil there than among the Numidians, and it was carried off with less danger. At length they became so bold as to carry down their booty to the sea, and sell it to merchants, who brought their ships thither for the purpose; and on these occasions greater numbers of the Carthaginians were slain and made prisoners than often happens in a regular engagement. On this subject the Carthaginians made heavy complaints to Syphax, earnestly pressing him to crush this remnant of the foe. To this he was himself well inclined, but thought it rather beneath the dignity of a king to pursue a vagrant robber, as he styled him, through the mountains.

32. Bocchar, a spirited and enterprising general, was chosen by the Numidian for that employment. Four thousand foot and two thousand horse were given him; with a promise of immense reward if he should bring back the head of Masinissa; or rather if he should take him alive, for that the latter would be to him a matter of inexpressible joy. Falling unexpectedly on Masinissa's men, when they were scattered about and off their guard, and who were in considerable numbers, he shut them out, together with their cattle, from the protection of those who were in arms, driving Masinissa himself, with his few followers, to the summit of the mountain. On this, considering the war as nearly finished, he sent to the king

both the booty of cattle and the prisoners, and also a part of his forces, which were more numerous than the remainder of the business required. Then, with no more than five hundred foot and two hundred horse, pursuing Masinissa, who had gone down from the top of the mountain, he shut him up in a narrow valley, securing the entrance at each end. Great slaughter was there made of the Massylians; Masinissa, with not more than fifty horsemen, effected a retreat through the intricate passes of the mountain, with which the pursuers were unacquainted. Bocchar, however, closely followed his steps, and overtaking him in an open plain, near the city Clupea, surrounded him in such a manner that he slew every one of his followers except four horsemen: Masinissa with these, and after receiving a wound, slipped out of his hands, as it were, during the tumult. Their flight was in full view, a body of horse being spread over the whole plain, some of whom pursued these five remaining enemies, while others, in order to meet them, pushed across their route. A large river lay in the way of the fugitives, into which they plunged their horses without hesitation, being pressed by greater danger from behind. Hurried away by the current, they were carried down obliquely; and two of them being swallowed by its violent rapidity in sight of the enemy, they believed that Masinissa himself had perished: but, with the two other horsemen, he landed among some bushes on the farther bank. This put an end to Bocchar's pursuit, for he durst not venture into the river; and besides, he was persuaded that the object of it no longer existed; he therefore returned to the king with the ill-grounded report of Masinissa's death. Messengers were despatched with the joyful news to Carthage; though in its spread over Africa men's minds were variously affected by it. Masinissa, while healing his wounds by the application of herbs, and in a secret cave, lived for several days on what the two horsemen procured by pillage. As soon as it was cicatrised, and he thought himself able to bear the mo-

tion, he set out again with wonderful resolution to make another effort for the recovery of his kingdom. He collected in his way not more than forty horsemen; but, as soon as he arrived among the Massylians, and made himself known to them, they were so powerfully actuated both by their former affection and the unhopèd-for joy at seeing him in safety, whom they believed to have perished, that in a few days six thousand armed foot and four thousand horse repaired to his standard; and he not only got possession of his father's kingdom, but laid waste the countries in alliance with the Carthaginians, and the frontiers of the Masæsylians, the dominion of Syphax. Having thus provoked the Numidians to war, he took post between Cirtha and Hippo, on the tops of mountains, in a situation convenient for all his purposes.

33. Syphax, thinking this an affair of too much importance to be intrusted to the management of his generals, sent a part of his army with his son Vermina, then a youth, with orders to march round in a circuit, and fall on the enemy's rear when he himself should have attracted their attention to his side. Vermina set out by night, so as to be concealed until he should begin the attack; but Syphax decamped in the day, and marched openly, as he was to engage in a regular pitched battle. When he thought that sufficient time had been allowed for those who had been sent round to have arrived at their station, he led his forces by a gentle acclivity directly up the mountain, for he relied both on his numbers and the ambuscade which he had prepared on his enemy's rear. Masinissa, on the other side, drew up his men, depending chiefly on the advantage of the ground; although, had it been much less in his favor, he would not have declined the fight. The battle was furious, and for a long time doubtful: Masinissa being favored by his situation and the bravery of his men; Syphax by his numbers, which were more than abundant. This great multitude being divided, one part pressed on in front, while the other part surrounded the rear; which gave

a decided victory to Syphax; nor was there even room for the enemy to escape, inclosed as they were on both sides: the rest, therefore, horse and foot, were either slain or taken. Masinissa collected round himself, in close order, about two hundred horsemen, whom he divided into three squadrons, with orders to break through the enemy, having appointed a place where they should reassemble, after being separated in their flight. He himself made his way through the midst of their weapons, as he had proposed; the other two squadrons failed in the attempt; one surrendering through fear, the other, after a more obstinate resistance, being overwhelmed with darts, and cut to pieces. Vermina followed close on the steps of Masinissa, who baffled him by frequently turning out of one road into another; and whom he at length obliged, harassed with extreme fatigue, to desist from the pursuit, and arrived himself with sixty horsemen at the lesser Syrtis. There, with the honorable consciousness of having often attempted the recovery of his father's kingdom, he rested until the coming of Caius Lælius and the Roman fleet to Africa, between the Carthaginian Emporia and the nation of the Garamantians. From these circumstances, I am inclined to believe that Masinissa came afterwards to Scipio, rather with a small body of forces than a large one: for the very great number, which has been mentioned by some, suits the condition of a king on a throne; the smaller that of an exile.

34. The Carthaginians having lost a large party of horse, together with their commander, made up another body of cavalry by a new levy, and gave the command of it to Hanno, son of Hamilcar. They sent frequently for Hasdrubal and Syphax by letters and messengers, and at length by ambassadors. Hasdrubal was ordered to come to the aid of his native city, which was threatened with a siege; while Syphax was intreated to bring relief to Carthage, and to all Africa. Scipio was at that time near Utica, above five miles from the city; having removed from the sea-coast, where for a few days he had a camp adjoining the

fleet. Hanno, having received the newly raised body of cavalry, (which, so far from being strong enough to make any attempt on the enemy, was not even sufficient to protect the country from devastation,) made it his first care to increase their number by pressing. Those of other nations were not rejected; but he collected mostly Numidians, who are by far the best horsemen in Africa. Having got together four thousand horse, he took up his quarters in a city called Salera, fifteen miles from the Roman camp. When this was told to Scipio, he said, with surprise, 'What! cavalry lodging in houses during the summer! Let them be even more in number, while they have such a commander.' The less they showed of activity, the less time he thought should be lost by himself; he therefore sent forward Masinissa with the cavalry, giving them directions to ride up to the gates, and entice the enemy out to battle. That when their multitudes should pour out, and become too powerful in the contest, he should give way by degrees; and that he would himself come up in time to support the fight. When the advanced party had, as he supposed, effected his purpose, he followed with the Roman horse, and proceeded, without being observed, under cover of some rising grounds which lay very conveniently round the windings of the road. Masinissa, according to the plan laid down, acted at one time as if threatening an assault, at another as if seized with fear; now riding up to the very gates, and now retreating with dissembled haste, which gave such boldness to the enemy, that they were at length tempted to come out of the town, and pursue him, with disorder, in his counterfeited flight. All however had not come forth; and with these remaining numbers the commander was not a little perplexed. Some, overpowered with wine and sleep, he had to compel to the taking of arms; others he had to stop who were running out by the gates without their standards, and in scattered parties, wholly regardless of order or ranks. Masinissa withstood them at first, while they rushed rashly to the

charge; but soon after greater numbers pouring out, and their whole force of cavalry joining in the conflict, they could no longer be resisted. Yet Masinissa did not betake himself to a hasty flight, but retired leisurely, until he drew them on to the hills which concealed the Roman cavalry. These immediately rising up, their strength unimpaired, and their horses fresh, spread themselves round Hanno and the Africans, who were fatigued in the pursuit; and Masinissa, suddenly wheeling about, returned to the charge. About one thousand, who composed the first division, and who could not easily retreat, were, together with Hanno the commander, surrounded and slain; the rest, terrified principally by the death of their general, fled in confusion, and were pursued for thirty miles by the conquerors, who took or slew two thousand more of the cavalry. It appeared that there were among these not less than two hundred Carthaginian horsemen, several of them of the richest and most distinguished families.

35. It happened that the same day on which this battle was fought the ships which had carried the booty to Sicily, returned with stores, as if they had foreseen that they were to bear away another cargo as before. All writers do not mention two generals of the Carthaginians of the same name being slain in two battles of the cavalry; apprehending, I suppose, that there was a mistake, occasioned by the same fact being related twice. Nay, Coelius and Valerius even assert that Hanno was taken prisoner. Scipio made presents to the officers and horsemen, according to the behavior of each; and, above all, he paid extraordinary honors to Masinissa. Having placed a strong garrison in Salera, he set out with the rest of the army; and not only laid waste the country wherever he marched, but also took some cities and towns, and thereby widely diffused the terror of his arms. Scipio returned to the camp on the seventh day after he had left it, bringing with him a great number of men and cattle, and a vast quantity of plunder. He then dismissed the

ships, heavily laden, a second time, with all kinds of spoil. From that time laying aside small expeditions and predatory excursions, he turned the whole force of the war to the siege of Utica; intending, if he should take it, to establish his head-quarters there for the future, in order to the better execution of the rest of his designs. While the marine forces made their approaches on that side of the city which is washed by the sea, those of the land advanced from a rising ground hanging almost over the walls. Engines and machines had been sent from Sicily with the stores; and many were made in the armory, where a number of artificers, skilled in such works, were retained for the purpose. The people of Utica, attacked on all sides by such a powerful force, had no hopes but from the Carthaginians; nor the Carthaginians any but from Hasdrubal, and from him only, as he should be able to influence Syphax. But all measures proceeded too slowly for their anxious desire of aid, of which they stood so much in need. Hasdrubal, though he had, by the most diligent press, made up the number of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, yet durst not move towards the camp of the enemy before the arrival of Syphax. Syphax soon came with fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; and immediately decamping from Carthage, sat down at a small distance from Utica, and the intrenchments of the Romans. Their approach produced at least this consequence, that Scipio, after having besieged Utica for near forty days, and tried every expedient for its reduction, in vain, was obliged to retire from it, as the winter was now at hand. He fortified his winter camp on a promontory, joined to the continent by a narrow isthmus, and which stretches out to some length into the sea; and included the naval camp within the same intrenchment. The legions were stationed on the middle of the isthmus; the ships were hauled on shore, and the seamen occupied the coast which faces the north; the cavalry a valley on the south. Such were the transactions in Africa to the latter end of autumn.

36. Various stores were imported from Sicily and Italy ; and besides the corn collected from all quarters of the adjacent country, Cneius Octavius, proprætor, brought a vast quantity out of Sardinia from Tiberius Claudius, the prætor : in consequence of which, not only the granaries already built were filled, but new ones were erected. Clothing was wanted for the troops : that matter was given in charge to Octavius, with directions to apply to the prætor, and to try if any could be procured by him ; a business which he carefully attended to, for in a short time twelve hundred gowns and twelve thousand jackets were sent. During the same summer in which these things passed in Africa, Publius Sempronius, consul, who had the province of Bruttium, on his march in the district of Croton, engaged Hannibal in a tumultuary battle, or rather a kind of skirmishing. The Romans were worsted ; and one thousand two hundred of the consul's army slain. The rest returned in confusion to the camp, which however the enemy did not dare to assault. During the silence of the following night Sempronius marched away ; and, having sent directions to Publius Licinius, proconsul, to bring up his legions, he made a junction of their forces : thus two commanders and two armies returned on Hannibal. Neither party declined an engagement ; the consul deriving confidence from his forces being doubled ; the Carthaginian, from his late victory. Sempronius led up his own legions into the first line, those of Licinius were placed in reserve. In the beginning of the battle the consul vowed a temple to Fortuna Primigenia, if he should defeat the enemy on that day ; and the object of his vow was accomplished. The Carthaginians were routed and put to flight : above four thousand fell, somewhat less than three hundred were made prisoners, with whom were taken forty horses, and eleven military standards. Hannibal, dismayed by this overthrow, drew off his army to Croton. At the same time Marcus Cornelius, consul, not so much by force of his arms as by the terror of his judicial pro-

ceedings, kept Etruria in obedience ; though it was almost intirely devoted to Mago, and to the hope of obtaining, by his means, a change of government. The inquisitions, directed by the senate, he executed with the utmost impartiality ; and many of the Tuscan nobles, who had either gone themselves, or sent deputies to Mago, about the revolt of their states, stood trial, and were found guilty. Others, from a consciousness of guilt, went into voluntary exile ; and by thus withdrawing, though condemned in their absence, could suffer only in a confiscation of their effects.

37. While the consuls were thus employed in different parts, the censors at Rome (Marcus Livius and Caius Claudius) called over the list of the senate. Quintus Fabius Maximus was again chosen principal ; seven were disgraced ; not one, however, of those who had sat in the curule chair. The orders for repairing public buildings were enforced with the greatest strictness. A road was contracted for, to be made from the ox market to the temple of Venus, with public seats ; and a temple to be built for the Great Mother on the Palatine hill. A new tax, from the sale of salt, was established. This article had been sold at the sixth part of an ass, both at Rome and in all parts of Italy ; and it was now directed to be supplied at the same rate at Rome, at a higher in the country towns and markets, and at various prices in different places. People were firmly persuaded that Livius had contrived this tax in resentment, and on account of a sentence having been formerly passed on him, which he had considered as unjust ; and that, in fixing the price of salt, the greatest burden had been laid on those tribes by whose influence he had been condemned : hence the surname of Salinator was given to him. The lustrum was closed later than usual ; because the censors sent persons through all the provinces to bring them a return of the number of Roman citizens in each of the armies. Including these, there were rated in the survey two hundred and fourteen thousand men. Caius Claudius Nero had the honor of closing the lustrum.

The senate then received a survey of twelve colonies, presented by the censors of those colonies, which had never been done before, in order that records might appear in the public archives of their proportion of strength both in men and money. The review of the knights then began; and it so happened that both the censors had a horse at the public expense. When they came to the Pollian tribe, in which was inrolled the name of Marcus Livius, and whom the herald hesitated to cite, Nero called to him, 'Cite Marcus Livius;' and being actuated either by some remains of their old enmity, or by an unseasonable affectation of strictness, he ordered Livius to sell his horse, because he had been condemned by a sentence of the people. In like manner Marcus Livius, when they came to the Narnian tribe, in which the name of his colleague appeared, he ordered him to dispose of his horse, for two reasons: one, that he had given false evidence; the other, that he had not been sincere in his reconciliation with him. Thus they became engaged in a scandalous contest, each aspersing the character of the other, though at the same time he injured his own. On going out of their office of censor, when Caius Claudius had taken the oath respecting the observance of the laws, and had gone up to the treasury, among the names of those whom he left disfranchised in the treasury list, he gave in the name of his associate. Marcus Livius also came thither, and except the Metian tribe, which had neither concurred in his condemnation, nor in appointing him consul or censor, he left the whole Roman people, thirty-four tribes, disfranchised in the treasury list; and this, he said, he did, because they had not only condemned him when innocent, but had elected him, while under the said sentence, both consul and censor; so that they could not deny that they had been guilty, either of one great fault in giving their sentence, or of two in the elections. He added, that Caius Claudius would be included in the list among the thirty-four tribes; but that if there had been any precedent of inserting any

person twice in the treasury list, he would have inserted his name particularly. The contest between the censors, thus mutually reproaching each other, was shameful; while the rebuke given to the giddiness of the people was highly becoming a censor, and the strict principles of that age. The censors having fallen into disrepute, Cneius Bæbius, tribune of the people, thinking that their situation afforded him an opportunity of gaining notice, summoned them both to a trial before the people; but the senate interfered, and stopped any farther proceedings, lest the office of censor should in future be subjected to the humor of the populace.

38. During the same summer the consul took Clamptia in Bruttium by storm. Consentia and Pandosia, with other towns of small consequence, surrendered voluntarily; and, as the time of the elections drew near, it was thought more expedient to call home Cornelius from Etruria, where there was no employment for his arms. He elected Cneius Servilius Cæpio and Cneius Servilius Geminus. The election of the pretors was then held: there were chosen Cneius Cornelius Lentulus, Publius Quintilius Varus, Publius Ælius Pætus, and Publius Villius Tappulus; although the two latter were ediles of the commons. The consul, as soon as the elections were over, returned into Etruria to his army. The priests who died that year, and those who were substituted in the places of others, were Tiberius Veturius Philo, flamen of Mars, elected and inaugurated in the room of Marcus Æmilius Regillus, deceased the year before. In the room of Marcus Pomponius Matho, augur and decemvir, were elected, as decemvir, Marcus Aurelius Cotta; as augur, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who was then very young; an instance in those times extremely rare in the disposal of a priest's office. Golden chariots, with four horses, were that year placed in the capitol by the curule ediles, Caius Livius and Marcus Servilius Geminus. The Roman games were repeatedly exhibited for two days. In like manner the

plebeian, for two days, by the ediles, Publius Ælius and Publius Villius. There was also a feast of Jove on occasion of the games.

BOOK XXX.

CHAP. 1. CNEIUS SERVILIUS CÆPIO and Caius Servilius Geminus, in the sixteenth year of the Punic war [A. U. C. 549. B. C. 203], consulted the senate on the state of public affairs, the war, and the provinces. The senate decreed that the consuls should decide between themselves, or determine by lot, which of them should hold the province of Bruttium, and act against Hannibal; and which that of Etruria and Liguria. That he to whose lot Bruttium fell should receive the army from Publius Sempronius, late consul. That Publius Sempronius, to whom the command was continued as proconsul for a year, should succeed Publius Licinius, who was to come home to Rome. This commander had now acquired a high reputation for military skill, in addition to his other excellent qualifications, of which no citizen, at that time, possessed such an abundance; nature and fortune conspiring to confer on him every thing valuable in man. He was of a noble race, and possessed great wealth; he excelled in personal beauty and strength of body; he was esteemed the most eloquent of his time, whether he pleaded in the courts of justice, or enforced or opposed any measure, either in the senate, or before the people; and was, besides, remarkably skilled in the pontifical law. In addition to all these, the consulship enabled him to acquire fame in the field. The same method of proceeding, which the senate had de-

creed in regard to the province of Bruttium, was ordered to be followed in respect of Etruria and Liguria. Marcus Cornelius was ordered to deliver the army to the new consul; and, his command being continued, to hold the province of Gaul, with those legions which Lucius Scribonius, pretor, had commanded the year before. The consuls then cast lots for the provinces: Bruttium fell to Cæpio, Etruria to Servilius Geminus. The provinces of the pretors were next put to the lot: Pætus Ælius obtained the city jurisdiction; Cneius Lentulus, Sardinia; Publius Villius, Sicily; Quintilius Varus, Ariminum, with two legions, which had been under Lucretius Spurius. Lucretius remained on his station, in order that he might rebuild the city of Genoa, which had been demolished by Mago the Carthaginian. Publius Scipio's command was continued, not for a period limited by time, but by the business, until an end should be put to the war in Africa; and it was decreed that a supplication should be performed, to obtain from the gods, that his having passed into Africa might prove happy to the people, to the general himself, and to the army.

2. Three thousand men were raised for Sicily; and because whatever strength it had possessed was carried over to Carthage, it was resolved that the coast of that island should be guarded by forty ships, lest any fleet should come thither from Africa. Villius carried with him to Sicily thirteen new ships; the rest were old ones repaired there. Marcus Pomponius, pretor of the former year (his command of this fleet being continued), took on board the new soldiers. An equal number of ships were decreed by the senate to Cneius Octavius, pretor likewise of the former year, with the same right of command, in order to protect the coast of Sardinia. Lentulus, pretor, was ordered to supply the fleet with two thousand soldiers. The defence of the coast of Italy was intrusted to Marcus Marcius, pretor of the former year, with the same number of ships; because it was uncertain to what place the Carthaginians might direct their attack,

which would probably be against whatever part was destitute of forces for its defence: for that fleet, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, the consuls enlisted three thousand men, and also two city legions, for the exigences of the war. Spain, with the armies there, and the command, was decreed to the former generals, Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus. The Romans employed in their service, for that year, in all, twenty legions, and a hundred and sixty ships of war. The pretors were directed to repair to their provinces; and orders were given to the consuls that, before their departure from the city, they should celebrate the great games, which Titus Manlius Torquatus, in his dictatorship, had vowed to be exhibited in the fifth year, if the condition of the state remained unaltered. Religious apprehensions were raised in men's minds by relations of prodigies brought from several places. It was believed that crows had not only torn with their beaks some gold in the capitol, but had even eaten it. At Antium, mice gnawed a golden crown. A vast quantity of locusts filled all the country round Capua, though it could not be discovered from whence they came. At Reate a foal was produced with five feet. At Anagnia there appeared in the sky, at first scattered fire, and afterwards a prodigious blaze. At Frusino a circle encompassed the sun with a narrow line; then the orb of the sun, increasing in size, extended its circumference beyond the circle. At Arpinum, in a level plain, the earth sunk into a vast gulf. When one of the consuls sacrificed the first victims, the head of the liver was wanting. These prodigies were expiated by the greater victims, the college of pontiffs directing to what gods the sacrifices should be made.

3. As soon as this business was finished, the consuls and pretors set out for their respective provinces. They directed their chief attention to Africa, as if it were allotted to them, either because they saw that the grand interests of their country, and of the war, depended on the proceedings there, or from a desire

to gratify Scipio, who was then the object of universal favor among all the members of the state. Therefore thither were sent not only from Sardinia, as was mentioned before, but from Sicily also, and Spain, clothing, corn, and arms, with every other kind of stores; while Scipio relaxed not his diligence during any part of the winter in the operations of war, for which he found abundant occasion on every side. He was engaged in the siege of Utica; Hasdrubal's camp was within sight; the Carthaginians had launched their ships, and kept their fleet equipped, and in readiness to intercept his convoys. Amidst so many objects which required his attention, he did not neglect endeavoring to recover the friendship of Syphax; hoping that he might now perhaps be cloyed with love in the full enjoyment of his bride. The answers of Syphax contained, chiefly, proposals for an accommodation with the Carthaginians on the terms of the Romans retiring from Africa, and the Carthaginians from Italy; but afforded scarcely any hopes that he would relinquish his present engagements. I am more inclined to believe that this business was transacted by messengers, as most authors affirm, than that Syphax came in person to the Roman camp to a conference, as Antius Valerius writes. At first, the Roman general hardly permitted those terms to be mentioned by his people; but afterwards, in order that they might have a plausible pretext for going frequently into the enemy's camp, he softened his refusals, even seemingly inclining to a negotiation. The winter huts of the Carthaginians were composed almost intirely of timber, which they had hastily collected from the fields: those of the Numidians were formed of reeds interwoven, and most of them covered with mats, and dispersed up and down without any regularity, some of them even on the outside of the trench and rampart, for they were left to choose their own ground. These circumstances being related to Scipio, gave him hopes that he might find an opportunity of burning the enemy's camp.

4. In the retinue of the embassy to Syphax he sent, instead of the common attendants, centurions of the first rank, of approved courage and prudence, dressed as servants; who, while the ambassadors were engaged in conference, might ramble through the camp, and observe all the approaches and outlets; the situation and form, both of the whole and of the several parts of it; where the Carthaginians lay, where the Numidians; what distance there was between Hasdrubal's station and the king's; and, at the same time, discover their method of fixing outposts and watches, and whether they were more open to surprise by night or by day. Many conferences being held, care was taken to send different persons at different times, in order that the greater number might be acquainted with every circumstance. These frequent conversations had led Syphax, and through him the Carthaginians, to entertain daily more confident expectations of a peace, when the Roman ambassadors told him that 'they were ordered not to return to the general without a definitive answer; therefore, if his own determination was fixed, he should declare it; or if Hasdrubal and the Carthaginians were to be consulted, he should do it without delay. It was time that either the terms of peace should be adjusted, or the war carried on with vigor.' While Syphax was consulting Hasdrubal, and Hasdrubal the Carthaginians, the spies had time to take a view of every thing, and Scipio also to make the preparations necessary to his design. From the mention of accommodation, and their expectation of it, the Carthaginians and Numidians took not the necessary precautions against any attempt which the enemy might make. At length an answer was returned, in which, as the Romans appeared exceedingly anxious for peace, the Carthaginians took the opportunity of adding some unreasonable conditions, which afforded a plausible pretence to Scipio, who now wished to break the truce. Accordingly, telling the king's messenger that 'he would take the opinion of his council on the affair,' he answered him next day, that 'he alone had labored

to put an end to the war, none of the other parties, in fact, showing any disposition towards it: that Syphax must entertain no hopes of entering into any treaty with the Romans, unless he renounced the party of the Carthaginians.' Thus he dissolved the truce, in plans. Launching his ships, (for it was now the beginning of spring,) he put on board engines and machines, as if an attack on Utica were intended by sea; at the same time sending two thousand men to take possession of the hill which commanded that place, and which he had formerly occupied, with a view, at once to divert the attention of the enemy from his real design, and to prevent any sally being made from the city, while he should be employed at a distance against Syphax and Hasdrubal. He likewise feared an attack should his camp be left with only a small force to defend it.

5. Having taken these preparatory steps, he summoned a council, ordering the spies to give an account of the discoveries which they had made; at the same time requesting Masinissa, who was as well acquainted with every circumstance of the enemy, to deliver his opinion; and, lastly, he informed them of a plan which he intended to execute on the following night. He gave orders to the tribunes that, as soon as the trumpets had sounded on the breaking up of the meeting at the pretorium, they should march the legions out of the camp. In pursuance of these orders the troops began to move a little before sunset: about the first watch they formed their line of march; and about midnight, (for the way was seven miles,) proceeding in a moderate pace, they arrived at the enemy's camp. He there gave Lælius the command of a part of the forces, to whom were joined Masinissa and the Numidians, with orders to fall on the camp of Syphax, and set it on fire. Then, taking Lælius and Masinissa apart, he intreated each separately, that 'as the night would be apt to impede the best concerted measures, they should make up for the difficulties by their diligence and care;' telling them also, that 'he meant to attack Hasdrubal and the Carthaginian camp, but would

not begin his operations until he should see the fire in that of the king.' The business was not long delayed; and as the huts all stood contiguously, the flames spread rapidly through every part of the camp. The alarm was great, by reason of its being night, and from the widely-extended blaze; but the king's troops, thinking it an accidental calamity, rushed out unarmed, in order to extinguish the flames, and met the enemy in arms, particularly the Numidians, whom Masiuissa, being well acquainted with the king's station, had posted at the openings of the passes. Many perished in their beds while half asleep; while many, in their precipitate flight, crowding on one another, were trodden to death in the narrow passages of the gates.

6. When the Carthaginian sentinels, awakened by the tumult of the night, beheld the fire, they also supposed it to be accidental; while the shout, raised amidst the slaughter and wounds, was so confused, (the alarm, too, being in the dark,) that they were unable to discover the cause or extent of the evil which assailed them. Running out therefore in the utmost hurry, by all the gates, without arms, as not suspecting an enemy to be near, and carrying nothing with them but what might serve to extinguish the flames, they rushed against the body of Romans. All of these were slain, not merely to gratify hostile animosity, but in order to prevent any one escaping with intelligence as to the truth of the affair. Scipio, immediately after, attacked the gates, which were neglected, as may be supposed, during such confusion, and set fire to the nearest huts; which soon communicating to the others, the whole was enveloped in one general conflagration. Half-burned men and cattle stopped up the passages, first by the hurry of their flight, and afterwards with their carcases. Those who had escaped the flames were cut off by the sword, and the two camps were, by one fatal blow, involved in utter ruin. However, the two commanders, with two thousand foot and five hundred horse, half armed, and a great part wounded or scorched, got away. There were destroyed by fire or sword forty

thousand men : taken, above five thousand ; many Carthaginian nobles, eleven senators ; military standards, a hundred and seventy-four ; Numidian horses, above two thousand seven hundred ; six elephants were taken, and eight destroyed. A great quantity of arms was taken, all which the general dedicated to Vulcan, and committed to the flames.

7. Hasdrubal, with a small number of Africans, had directed his flight to the nearest city ; and thither all who survived, following the steps of their general, had assembled ; but, dreading lest he should be delivered into the hands of Scipio, he soon after quitted it. The Romans, who were immediately after received there, committed no act of hostility, because the surrender was voluntary. Two other cities were taken and plundered ; and the booty found in them, together with what had been saved when the camps were burned, was given up to the soldiers. Syphax halted in a fortified post, at about eight miles distance. Hasdrubal, lest any timorous measures should be adopted through the violent apprehensions occasioned by the late disaster, proceeded to Carthage, where such consternation had seized the people, that they made no doubt but Scipio would leave Utica, and instantly lay siege to Carthage. The senate was therefore assembled by the suffetes, who are invested with the same authority as our consuls. Three different opinions were offered on the occasion : one proposed sending ambassadors to Scipio, with proposals of peace ; another, the recalling of Hannibal, to defend his country ; the third showed Roman firmness in adversity, recommending to recruit the army, and to intreat Syphax not to abandon the war. This latter opinion prevailed, because Hasdrubal, who was present, and all of the Barcine faction, were disposed to fight to the last. On this they began to levy troops in the city and the country, and sent ambassadors to Syphax, who was himself most vigorously employed in making preparations for the renewal of hostilities. His queen had prevailed, not on this occasion as formerly, by her allurements,

which were sufficiently powerful over the mind of her lover, but by prayers and appeals to his compassion; with tears having beseeched him not to forsake her father and her country, nor suffer Carthage to be burned as the camps had been. Add to this, some new ground of hope, which offered itself very seasonably, the ambassadors acquainting him that they had met, near the city called Abba, four thousand Celtiberians, able young men, who had been enlisted by their recruiting parties in Spain, and that Hasdrubal would speedily arrive with a body of troops far from contemptible. Syphax not only gave a favorable answer to the Carthaginians, but showed them a multitude of Numidian peasants, to whom he had, within a few days, given arms and horses; and assured them also, that he would call out all the youth in his kingdom; observing, that 'their loss had been occasioned by fire, not by battle; and that he only who was defeated by arms ought to be deemed inferior to his enemy.' Such was his reply; and, a few days after, he and Hasdrubal again joined their forces, when their whole army amounted to about thirty thousand fighting men.

8. While Scipio gave his whole attention to the siege of Utica, as if no farther hostilities were to be apprehended from Syphax and the Carthaginians, and was employed in bringing up his machines to the walls, he was called away by the news of the war being revived. Leaving, therefore, only a small number of men on sea and land, to keep up the appearance of a siege, he set out himself with the main body of the army to meet the enemy. At first he took post on a hill, distant about four miles from the king's camp. On the day following, descending into the great plains, as they are called, which lie under that hill, with a body of cavalry, he spent the day in advancing frequently to the enemy's posts, and provoking them by slight skirmishes. For the two succeeding days, however, though irregular excursions were made by both parties in turn, nothing worth notice was performed. On the fourth day both armies came out to battle. The

Romans placed their first-rank men behind the front battalions, consisting of the spearmen, and the veterans in reserve; posting the Italian cavalry on the right wing, the Numidians and Masinissa on the left. Syphax and Hasdrubal, having placed their Numidians opposite to the Italian cavalry, and the Carthaginians opposite to Masinissa, drew the Celtiberians into the centre of the line, facing the battalions of the legions: in this order they began the engagement. On the first encounter both wings, Numidians and Carthaginians, were forced to give way: for neither could the Numidians, most of whom were undisciplined peasants, withstand the Roman cavalry, nor the Carthaginians, who were also raw soldiers, withstand Masinissa, who, besides other circumstances, was rendered terrible by his late victory. The line of Celtiberians, (although, having lost the cover of the wings, they were exposed on both flanks,) yet resolutely kept their ground; for neither could they see any safety in flight, being unacquainted with the country, nor had they any hope of pardon from Scipio, having come into Africa to fight against him for the sake of hire, notwithstanding the favors which he had conferred on them and their nation. Surrounded therefore on all sides, they died with determined obstinacy, falling in heaps one over another; and, while the attention of all was turned on them, Syphax and Hasdrubal availed themselves of this opportunity, and gained a considerable space of time to effect their escape. Night came on the conquerors, who were fatigued more with killing than from the length of the contest.

9. Next day Scipio sent Lælius and Masinissa, with all the Roman and Numidian cavalry, and the light infantry, in pursuit of Syphax and Hasdrubal. He himself, with the main body of the army, reduced all the cities in that part of the country which belonged to the Carthaginians, some by offering them hopes, others by threats, others by force. At Carthage the consternation was excessive: they expected nothing less than that Scipio, who was extending his operations on every

side, should quickly subdue all the neighboring places, and then immediately invest their city. They therefore repaired the walls, and strengthened them with outworks; every one exerting himself, in bringing in from the country such things as were requisite for sustaining a long and powerful siege. Little mention was made of peace; very many advised that a deputation should be sent to recall Hannibal; but the greater number were earnest for despatching the fleet, (which had been equipped for the purpose of intercepting the convoys,) to surprise the ships stationed at Utica, where no attack was expected; alleging the probability that they might, at the same time, make themselves masters of the naval camp, which had been left with a slight guard. This latter scheme met general approbation; but, at the same time, they determined to call Hannibal home, because, should the fleet meet with all possible success, Utica would, indeed, be relieved from some part of the pressure of the siege; but, for the defence of Carthage itself, there was now no general remaining but Hannibal, and no army but his. The ships were therefore launched on the following day; at the same time the deputies set out for Italy, and, the juncture being critical, every measure was executed with the utmost despatch; each man thinking, that if he were in any degree remiss, he was so far a betrayer of the public safety. Scipio led on his forces by slow marches, as they were heavily loaded with the spoils of many cities. After sending the prisoners and other booty to his old camp at Utica, directing his views to Carthage, he seized on Tunes, which was defenceless, the garrison having fled. This city was very strong, both by nature and art: it may be seen from Carthage, from which it is distant about fifteen miles, and at the same time affords a prospect of that city and the adjacent sea.

10. The Romans, while busily employed in raising a rampart at Tunes, descried the fleet which was steering to Utica. On this the work was instantly dropped, and orders to march were issued. The troops set out

with the utmost speed, lest the Roman fleet should be surprised, while attentive only to the siege, and in no condition for a naval fight: for how could any resistance have been made to a fleet of active ships, furnished with every kind of arms, by vessels loaded with engines and machines, and which were either converted to the purpose of transports, or pushed so close to the walls, that they served instead of mounds and bridges for the men to mount by? Scipio, therefore, contrary to the usual practice in sea engagements, drawing back the ships of war, which might be a protection to the others, into the rear, near the land, opposed to the enemy a line of transports consisting of four in depth, to serve as a wall; and lest this line should be broken during the confusion of the fight, he fastened the vessels together by means of masts and yards, passed from one to another with strong ropes, in such a manner as to form, as it might be called, one intire tier. Over these he laid planks, which formed a passage from ship to ship through the whole line; and under those bridges of communication he left openings, through which the scout boats might run out towards the enemy, and retreat with safety. Having completed these sea works as well as the time allowed, he put on board the transports about a thousand chosen men to defend them, with a vast quantity of weapons, chiefly missive, sufficient to serve for a battle of any continuance. Thus prepared, they waited attentively the coming of the enemy. Had the Carthaginians been expeditious, they might at the first onset have overpowered the Romans, every thing being in hurry and confusion; but dispirited by their losses on land, and losing thereby their confidence at sea also, where their strength however was superior, they spent the whole day in approaching slowly, and about sunset put into a harbor, which the Africans call Ruscino. On the following day, about sunrise, they formed their ships in a line towards the open sea, as if for a regular sea fight, and as if the Romans were to come out to meet them. When they had stood thus for a long

time, and saw that no motion was made by the enemy, they attacked the transports. The affair bore no resemblance to a naval engagement; it was more like an attack made by ships against walls. The transports had some advantage in their height; for the Carthaginians, being obliged to throw their weapons upward, discharged most of them to no purpose against the higher places; whereas those from the transports fell with greater force, at the same time gaining additional power from their own weight. The scouts and lighter Roman vessels, which pushed out through the openings under the bridges of communication between their ships, were at first run down by the weight and bulk of the Carthaginian ships of war; and afterwards they became an obstruction to those who defended the line, because, as they were mixed among the enemy's ships, they often obliged them to stop the discharge of their weapons, lest, missing their aim, they should hit their friends. At length the Carthaginians threw among the Romans beams furnished at the ends with iron hooks, which the soldiers call harpoons. They could neither cut the beams, nor the chains by which they were raised in order to be thrown, so that as soon as any of the ships of war, hauling back, dragged a transport entangled by the hook, the fastenings of these vessels broke, and in some places several were dragged away together. By this means, chiefly, were all the bridges torn asunder; and scarcely had the defenders time to make their escape into the second row of ships. About six were towed away to Carthage, where the joy of the people was greater than the occasion merited. But they were the more sensibly affected because this gleam of good fortune, however small, had unexpectedly shone on them, in the midst of a continued course of losses and lamentations. It appeared that the Roman fleet would hardly have escaped destruction had not their own commanders been dilatory, so that Scipio had time to bring in relief.

11. Lælius and Masinissa having, about the fifteenth day, arrived in Numidia, Massylia, Masinissa's here-

ditary kingdom, submitted to him with joy, as to a prince whom they had long and earnestly wished to hail. Syphax, seeing all his commanders and garrisons expelled from thence, retired within his own original dominions, but in no disposition to remain quiet. In his ambitious views he was spurred on by his queen and father-in-law; and indeed he possessed such abundance of men and horses, that a mind less barbarous and violent than his might well assume confidence; and when reflecting on the great strength of a kingdom, which had enjoyed prosperity for a long course of years. Wherefore, collecting together all who were able to bear arms, he distributed among them horses and weapons: he divided the horsemen into troops, and the footmen into cohorts, as he had formerly learned from the Roman centurions; and thus, with an army not less numerous than that which he had before, but composed almost intirely of raw undisciplined men, he advanced towards the enemy, and pitched his camp at a small distance from theirs. At first a few horsemen advanced from the outposts to make observations; these, being attacked with javelins, retreated to their friends. Skirmishing parties then came forth from both sides; and whichever of these were repulsed, their fellows, being inflamed with indignation, came up in greater numbers to their support. This is generally the prelude to engagements between the cavalry; hope encouraging the party which prevails, and rage exasperating that which is worsted. Thus, on the present occasion, the fight having commenced between small divisions, the eagerness of the dispute drew out at length the whole force of cavalry on both sides. While the contest lay intirely between these, the Masæsylians, whom Syphax sent out in immense bodies, could hardly be withstood. Afterwards the Roman infantry rushing in suddenly between their own cavalry, who opened passages for them, gave firmness to their line, and terrified the enemy, who were advancing furiously to the charge. The barbarians at first pushed on their horses with less brisk-

ness; then halted, disconcerted somewhat by this new manner of fighting; at last, they not only gave way to the infantry, but did not dare to withstand even the horse, emboldened as they were by the support of the foot. And now the battalions also of the legions approached, when the Masæsylians, so far from daring to meet their first attack, could not support even the sight of their engines and arms; so strongly were they affected, either by the recollection of their former calamities, or by the present danger. At this juncture Syphax, galloping up to try if, either by shame or by the danger to which he was exposed, he could stop the flight of his men, being thrown from his horse, which was grievously wounded, was overpowered and taken, and dragged alive to Lælius;—a sight grateful to Masinissa above all others. To Cirtha, the capital of Syphax's kingdom, a vast multitude fled. The number of slain in that battle was less than in proportion to the greatness of the victory, because the cavalry only had been engaged. Not more than five thousand were killed; less than half that number taken, in an attack on their camp, to which the multitude had retired in dismay at the loss of their king.

12. Masinissa declared that 'nothing could be more highly gratifying to him, now that he was victorious, after so long a struggle, than to revisit his paternal kingdom: but that the present happy situation of his affairs required activity, as much as his former misfortunes. If Lælius would permit him to go on before him to Cirtha, with the cavalry, and Syphax as his prisoner, he would strike such terror, while the enemy were in confusion and dismay, as would crush all opposition; and that Lælius might follow with the infantry by easy marches.' Lælius assenting, he went forward to Cirtha, and ordered the principal inhabitants to be invited to a conference. But, as they were ignorant of their king's misfortune, neither his relation of what had passed, nor his threats, nor persuasions, wrought any effect, until Syphax was produced to their view in chains. This shocking sight excited a general lamen-

tation ; some, in a panic, deserted the walls, others hastily agreed to endeavor to gain the favor of the conqueror, and opened the gates: whereon Masinissa, having despatched guards to these and other parts of the fortifications, to prevent any person going out of the town, galloped on in full speed to take possession of the palace. As he entered the porch, Sophonisba, Syphax's queen, daughter of Hasdrubal the Carthaginian, met him at the door ; where, seeing Masinissa in the midst of a band of armed men, distinguished by his arms and apparel, and judging rightly that he was the king, she fell at his knees, and thus addressed him : ' The favor of the gods, added to your own valor and good fortune, has given you absolute power to dispose of us. But if, in the presence of the sovereign disposer of her life and death, a captive may be allowed to utter the words of a suppliant, to touch his knees, or victorious right hand, I intreat and beseech you, by the majesty of a king, of which we also were just now possessed ; by the name of the Numidian race, which is common to you and Syphax ; by the guardian gods of this palace, who, I hope, will receive you with better omens than they sent Syphax hence, grant so much favor to your suppliant, as that you will, yourself, determine whatever you may think proper concerning your captive, and not suffer me to fall under the haughty and cruel disposal of any Roman. Were I nothing more than the wife of Syphax, I had much rather trust to the honor of a Numidian, one born in the same country with me, than to a foreigner, and from a distant part of the world : but what a Carthaginian, what the daughter of Hasdrubal, has reason to dread from a Roman, is manifest to you. If you cannot by any other means, I implore and beseech you, that you will, by my death, secure me from the power of the Romans.' She was remarkably beautiful, and in the full bloom of youth : so that, while she pressed his right hand, and implored his protection only so far, as that she should not be delivered up to any Roman, her discourse was more like caresses than intreaty ; and

the conqueror's mind was not only subdued to pity, but, as all the Numidians are extremely amorous, the victorious king became the slave of his captive;¹ and giving his right hand, as a pledge for the performance of what she had requested, he went into the palace. Immediately he began to consider within himself by what means he might fulfil his engagement; and not being able to devise any, he adopted a rash and shameful resolution, suggested by his love. He gave orders that every thing should be instantly prepared for a marriage on that same day, in order that he might leave no room for Lælius, or Scipio himself, to proceed against her as a captive, since she would then be his wife. After the marriage was concluded Lælius arrived; and so far was he from dissembling his disapprobation of the proceeding, that at first he even resolved to drag her from the nuptial bed, and send her with Syphax to Scipio: but he was afterwards prevailed on by the intreaties of Masinissa, who besought him to leave it to the Romans to determine which of the two kings should have Sophonisba a sharer of his fortune. Sending away, therefore, Syphax and the other prisoners, he reduced, with the assistance of Masinissa, all the cities of Numidia which were held by the king's garrisons.

13. When it was announced that the detachment was bringing Syphax to the camp, the whole multitude poured out, as if to the sight of a triumph. He preceded the rest in chains, and was followed by a number of noble Numidians. On this occasion every one spoke in the most exalted terms of the greatness of Syphax, and the fame of his nation; thus exaggerating the renown of their victory. 'That was the king,' they said, 'to whose dignity the two most powerful states in the

¹ Sophonisba had been formerly betrothed to Masinissa, and being afterwards given to Syphax, was one reason of his quarrelling with the Carthaginians, and joining the Romans. Another was, that in the contest between him and Mezutulus for the throne, his rival had been aided by the Carthaginians.

world, the Roman and Carthaginian, had paid such deference; that for the sake of procuring his friendship, their own general, Scipio, leaving his province and his army, sailed with only two quinqueremes to Africa; and the Carthaginian general, Hasdrubal, not only visited his kingdom, but also gave him his daughter in marriage. That the Roman and Carthaginian generals had been within his grasp at one and the same time. That as both parties had, by the offer of sacrifices, solicited the favor of the immortal gods, so his friendship had been equally sought for by both. That he lately possessed power so great as to enable him to expel Masinissa from his kingdom; and to reduce him to such a state, that his life was preserved by a report of his death, and by lurking in concealment, while he was obliged, like a wild beast, to live in the woods on prey.' Such were the discourses of the throng through which the king was led to the general's quarters. Scipio was moved on comparing the former situation of the man with the present; and also by the recollection of their connexion in hospitality, of their right hands pledged, and the treaty concluded between themselves and their states. These circumstances gave Syphax courage in addressing his conqueror: for, when Scipio asked him, 'what had been his views in not only renouncing his alliance with the Romans, but even making war on them?' he answered that 'he had indeed erred, or rather acted under an impulse of insanity; but not at that time, principally, when he took up arms against the Romans: that was the consequence of his madness, not the actual beginning of it. That he was indeed mad when he banished from his thoughts all the ties of private friendship and public leagues, and when he received a Carthaginian wife into his house. By those nuptial torches his palace had been set in flames; that mischievous fury had, by every kind of allurements, perverted his judgment, and led it astray; nor ever desisted, until with her own hands she clad him in detestable arms against his guest and his friend. Yet, ruined and hopeless as he was, he felt some comfort in

his misfortunes, from seeing that pestilent woman removed into the house and family of his bitterest enemy. Adding, that Masinissa possessed neither more prudence nor firmness than himself. His youth, indeed, had made him incautious; but there was evidently more folly and rashness in the latter marriage than in his.'

14. These words, dictated not merely by animosity towards his enemy, but by anguish on seeing the woman whom he had loved in the possession of his rival, impressed the mind of Scipio with no small degree of solicitude. He was however the more induced to listen to Syphax, from the marriage having been hurried forward, in the midst of arms, without either consulting or waiting for Lælius; and from Masinissa's haste, for on the very day in which he had seen Sophonisba made prisoner, he had contracted matrimony with her, and performed the nuptial sacrifice, in presence of the household gods of his enemy. These proceedings appeared to Scipio the more heinous, because he himself, when in Spain, and when a very young man, had not allowed himself to be moved by the beauty of any captive whatever. While he was revolving these circumstances in his mind Lælius and Masinissa arrived, to both of whom he gave the same kind reception; and afterwards made known their conduct, with the highest praises, in a full assembly. Then retiring with Masinissa to a private place, he thus addressed him: 'I suppose, Masinissa, that in first coming to Spain for the purpose of contracting a friendship with me, and afterwards in Africa, submitting yourself, and all your concerns, to my protection, you must have been influenced by some good qualities which I was said to possess. Now, of those virtues which made you think my favor worth soliciting, there is not one on which I value myself so much as temperance and the government of my passions. I wish, Masinissa, that to your other excellent qualifications you had added this one also. There is not so much danger, believe me there is not, to persons of our time of life, from armed foes, as from the pleasures which every where surround us. He who has

curbed and reduced his passions to subjection has really acquired to himself much greater glory, and a far more honorable victory, than that which we now enjoy in our conquest of Syphax. The instances of courage and conduct, which you displayed while I was not present, I have mentioned with pleasure, and I retain a proper sense of them. As to other matters, I rather wish that you would review them in your own mind, than that you should blush at my recital of them. Syphax has been subdued and taken under the auspices of the Roman people: therefore he, his wife, his kingdom, his territories, his towns, and the inhabitants of them; in short, whatever was the property of Syphax is now the prize of that people. Both the king and his wife, even though she were not a citizen of Carthage, and we had not seen her father heading the enemy's army, ought to have been sent to Rome, where the Roman state should have had the power of judging and determining concerning her—a woman who is said to have seduced a king in alliance with us, and to have precipitated him into the war. Restrain your feelings. Beware, lest by one vice you disparage a number of good qualities, and destroy the credit of so many meritorious deeds by a fault, too great to be palliated, even by the occasion of it.

15. On hearing this discourse, not only Masinissa's countenance was suffused with blushes, but he even burst into tears; and after declaring that 'in future he would be directed intirely by Scipio,' and intreating him, 'as far as the affair would permit, to consider the obligation into which he had rashly entered, not to give the queen into the power of any one,' he retired in confusion from the general's tent to his own. There, dismissing his attendants, he spent some time in sighs and moans, which could be heard distinctly by those who stood without. At last, having uttered a deep groan, he called one of his servants, in whom he confided, and who had the charge of the poison, which, according to the custom of kings, is kept against the uncertainties of fortune, and ordered him to mix some

in a cup; to carry it to Sophonisba; and to tell her at the same time that 'Masinissa would gladly have fulfilled the first obligation which he owed her,—that due from a husband to his wife; but that, since those who had the power had not left that in his option, he now performed his second engagement, that she should not come alive into the hands of the Romans. He therefore requested her to remember her father, the general, her country, and the two kings to whom she had been married; and to take such steps as she should judge proper.' When the servant, carrying this message and the poison, came to Sophonisba,—'I receive,' said she, 'this nuptial present, by no means an unacceptable one, if my husband has not the power to perform more for his wife. Tell him, however, that I should have died better had I not married in the very moment of my funeral.' The firmness with which she spoke was not greater than the resolution with which she received and drank off the contents of the cup. When Scipio was informed of this event, dreading lest the young man, whose passions were violent, might, in the present disorder of his mind, take some desperate measure, he sent for him instantly; and at one time consoled, at another gently chid him, for having atoned one act of rashness by another, and for having rendered the affair more horrid than was necessary. Next day, in order to divert his thoughts from the object which, at the present, distressed him, he mounted his tribunal, and ordered an assembly to be summoned. There, after he had first honored Masinissa with the title of king, and passed high encomiums on his merit, he presented to him a golden crown, a golden goblet, a curule chair, an ivory sceptre, an embroidered robe, and a vest striped with purple; enhancing the honor by saying that 'among the Romans there was nothing more magnificent than a triumph, and that those who were so distinguished had not a more splendid dress than that of which Masinissa alone, of all foreigners, was esteemed worthy by the Roman people.' Lælius also he highly commended, and presented with a golden

crown; and on others of the military he conferred gifts suitable to the services which they had performed. By these honors conferred on him, the king's mind was soothed, and encouraged to hope that he should soon be in possession of the whole extent of Numidia, now that Syphax was removed out of his way.

16. Scipio, sending Caius Lælius, with Syphax and the other prisoners, to Rome, with whom went also ambassadors from Masinissa, led back his troops to Tunes, and completed the fortifications which he had begun some time before. The Carthaginians, who had been filled with a short-lived joy, on account of their success in the attack on the Roman fleet (and which in their then circumstances they had considered as important), on hearing of the capture of Syphax, in whom they had placed more of their hopes than in Hasdrubal and their own army, were struck with dismay, and would listen no longer to any who advised to continue the war; but sent, as their agents to sue for peace, thirty of the principal elders. These compose the assembly of the highest dignity among them, having the principal control over the senate itself. Arriving at the general's tent, they prostrated themselves, like those who humbly fawn on kings, having learned that mode, I suppose, from the country whence they derived their origin. Their discourse was suitable to such servile adulation, not attempting to apologise for their conduct, but transferring the blame on Hannibal, and the favorers of his violent measures. They implored pardon for their state, which had been twice ruined by the rashness of its citizens, and would a second time be indebted for its restoration to the generosity of an enemy: they observed that 'the Roman people sought dominion over the conquered, not their destruction; and declared themselves ready to pay implicit obedience to any commands which their subjugators should be pleased to impose.' Scipio told them that 'he had come into Africa with the expectation, which had been farther encouraged by the happy fortune of his army, of carrying home conquest, not

peace. That, however, although he had conquest within his reach, yet he did not reject peace; that all nations might know that the Roman people were guided by the principles of justice, both in undertaking and concluding wars. That these were the terms of peace which he prescribed:—that they should give up the prisoners, deserters, and fugitives; withdraw their armies from Italy and Gaul; renounce all pretensions to Spain; retire from all the islands which lie between Italy and Africa; deliver up all their ships of war, except twenty, and furnish five hundred thousand measures of wheat, and three hundred thousand of barley.' What sum of money he demanded, authors are not agreed. In some, I find five thousand talents;¹ in others, five thousand pounds weight of silver; while it is also said that double pay of the troops was imposed. 'Three days,' said he, 'shall be allowed you to consider whether you approve of peace on these conditions. If you do approve of it, then make a truce with me, and send ambassadors to Rome to the senate.' The Carthaginians, thus dismissed, thought it advisable to submit to any terms, as the only object they had in view was to gain time, until Hannibal should come over to Africa; and therefore they sent ambassadors to Scipio, to conclude a truce, and others to Rome to solicit peace. These carried with them a few prisoners, deserters, and fugitives, to make a show of obedience, and that they might attain their object with the less difficulty.

17. Lælius with Syphax and the principal Numidian prisoners arrived at Rome several days before them, and related, in order, to the senate the several transactions which had passed in Africa. Great was the rejoicing on account of the present state of affairs, and the most sanguine hopes were entertained with respect to the future. The senate then, on the business being proposed, ordered that the king should be sent prisoner to Alba, and that Lælius should be detained until the arrival of the Carthaginian ambassadors. A

¹ 1,968,750*l*.

supplication for four days was decreed. Publius Ælius, pretor, when the senate broke up, called an assembly of the people, and ascended the rostrum with Caius Lælius. There, on hearing that the Carthaginian armies had been routed; so renowned a monarch as Syphax vanquished and made prisoner; and conquest extended, with extraordinary success, over every part of Numidia, the people could not contain their joy, but by shouts and other methods usually practised by the multitude, expressed immoderate transports. The pretor therefore immediately issued orders, that the keepers should open the temples in every part of the city; and that all should be allowed, during the whole day, to go round them, and pay their worship and thanks to the gods. On the day following, he introduced Masinissa's ambassadors, who first congratulated the senate on the success of Publius Scipio in Africa: then gave thanks for his having 'not only honored Masinissa with the title of king, but made him one, by reinstating him on the throne of his father; where (now that Syphax was removed) he had, if it so pleased the senate, a prospect of reigning without contest or apprehension; they likewise made their acknowledgements for praises he had bestowed on him in the assembly, and for the very magnificent presents with which he had loaded him.' They added, 'that Masinissa had exerted his best endeavors to appear not unworthy of those favors, and would continue so to do. They then requested the senate to confirm by their decree the title of king, and the other distinguished marks conferred on him by Scipio; telling them that their monarch farther intreated, that, if it so pleased them, the Numidian prisoners then at Rome might be sent home,—a circumstance which would do him high honor among his countrymen.' The senate made answer, 'that congratulations on the successes of Africa ought in the confederates to be mutual; that Scipio appeared to have acted properly and regularly, in giving to their Numidian ally the title of king; and that whatever else he should do grateful to Masinissa,

the senate ratified and approved it.' They then ordered the pretor to prepare the following presents for the king:—two purple robes with a golden clasp and vests, with broad purple borders; two horses with trappings; two suits of horseman's armor, with coats of mail; with tents and camp furniture, such as is customary to provide for a consul. Donatives were also voted for the ambassadors, not less than five thousand asses¹ to each; for their attendants a thousand asses;² two suits of apparel to each of the ambassadors, one to each of their attendants, and the same to the Numidians, who were to be freed from imprisonment, and sent back to the king. Besides which, they ordered intire suites of apartments and entertainment for the embassy.

18. In the course of the summer, during which those transactions passed in Africa, and these decrees at Rome, Publius Quintilius Varus, pretor, and Marcus Cornelius, proconsul, fought a pitched battle with Mago the Carthaginian, in the country of the Insubrian Gauls. The pretor's legions were in the first line; Cornelius kept his in reserve, placing himself in the front. The pretor and proconsul exhorted the soldiers to make the attack with the utmost vigor. Finding that they made no impression on the Carthaginian line, Quintilius said to Cornelius, 'The battle flags, as you may perceive; and the enemy, finding themselves able to make resistance beyond what they had hoped, are hardened against fear, and it is well if they do not assume boldness: we must bear down with the cavalry, if we expect to disorder or drive them from their ground. Do you therefore support the battle in front, and I will bring up the horse; or I will take care of matters here, while you charge with the cavalry of the four legions.' The proconsul offering to undertake either part of the business, as the pretor should direct, Quintilius the pretor, with his son Marcus, a youth of a high and ardent spirit, took the com-

¹ 16*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.*

² 3*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.*

mand of the cavalry, and having ordered them to mount their horses, led them on instantly to the charge. The confusion occasioned by these was increased by the shouts of the legions; nor would the Carthaginian line have stood their ground, had not Mago immediately brought up the elephants to the fight, having kept them in readiness against the first motion which the horse should make. By the snorting and sight of these animals, the horses were frightened to such a degree, as rendered the aid of the cavalry of no effect. As the Roman horseman had the advantage in point of strength, when in close fight, and when he could use his javelin and sword hand to hand; so the Numidian had the better in darting javelins at him from a distance, and when his horse's fright would not suffer him to advance. Among the infantry, the twelfth legion having lost the greater part of their number, kept their ground, rather through shame, than that they had strength to maintain it. They must soon however have fallen back, had not the thirteenth legion, led up from the reserve to the front, supported the doubtful conflict. Mago at the same time brought up to oppose this fresh legion the Gauls, drawn also from his reserve. These being routed without much difficulty, the spearmen of the eleventh legion formed themselves into a circular body, and attacked the elephants, which were now throwing the line of the infantry into confusion; and by discharging their spears at them, hardly any of which were thrown in vain, as the beasts were close together they turned them all on the line of their own party. Four of them, overpowered with wounds, fell. On this the first line of the enemy began to give way; when all the infantry, seeing the elephants turning about, rushed on in order to increase the terror and confusion. As long however as Mago stood at the head of the troops, the ranks, retreating leisurely, kept up the spirit of the battle; but when they saw him fall on receiving a wound through his thigh, and carried lifeless out of the field, instantly all betook themselves to flight.

There were five thousand Carthaginians slain on that day, and twenty-two military ensigns taken. Nor was the victory bloodless on the side of the Romans: two thousand three hundred men of the pretor's army were lost, by far the greater part of whom were of the twelfth legion; of which legion also fell two military tribunes, Marcus Gosconius and Marcus Mænius. Of the thirteenth legion, likewise, which had shared the latter part of the engagement, Cneius Helvius, military tribune, was slain while employed in restoring the fight. There perished, besides, thirty-two horsemen of some distinction, who were trodden down by the elephants, together with some centurions. Probably the contest would not have been so soon ended, had not the wound of their general made the enemy retire from the field.

19. Mago, setting out during the silence of the next night, and making as long journeys as his wound allowed him to bear, arrived at the sea-coast, in the country of the Ingaunian Ligurians. There the deputies from Carthage, who had a few days before arrived with the ships in the Gallic bay, waited on him, and delivered orders to him to pass over to Africa as soon as possible; informing him that his brother Hannibal, to whom messengers had been also sent, would do the same, for the affairs of the Carthaginians were not in a condition to hold possession of Gaul and Italy by arms. Mago was not only moved by the commands of the senate and the danger that threatened his country, but dreaded lest, if he delayed, he might be hard pressed by the victorious enemy; and also, lest the Ligurians themselves, seeing that the Carthaginians were about to relinquish Italy, might revolt to those under whose power they must speedily fall. He at the same time entertained hopes that his wound might be less irritated on board a ship than on land, and that he might there be able to attend to the cure of it with more convenience. Embarking therefore his troops, he set sail, and had scarcely passed Sardinia when he died; on the coast of which island, several Carthagi-

nian ships which had been dispersed were taken by the Roman fleet. Such were the occurrences by land and sea, on that side of Italy nearest to the Alps. The consul Cneius Servilius performed nothing memorable in Etruria, or in Gaul (for he had advanced into that country), except that he rescued from slavery, which they had endured for sixteen years, his father, Caius Servilius, and his uncle Caius Lutatius, who had been taken by the Boians at the village of Tane-tum. He returned to Rome accompanied by these on each side of him, distinguished rather by family-badges than public services. It was proposed to the people, that 'Cneius Servilius should not be subject to penalty, for having, contrary to the laws, during the life of his father (a circumstance of which he was at that time ignorant), and who sat in the curule chair, accepted the offices of tribune of the commons, and plebeian edile;' this being admitted, he returned to his province. Consentia, Ufugum, Vergæ, Besidiæ, Hetriculum, Sypheum, Argentanum, Clampetia, and many other small states, perceiving that the Carthaginians grew languid in their operations, came over to Cneius Servilius the consul, then in Bruttium; and who had fought a battle with Hannibal in the district of Croton, of which we have no clear account. Valerius Antias says that five thousand of the enemy were slain. This is a circumstance of such importance, that either it must be an impudent fiction, or they were guilty of great negligence who omitted mentioning it. It is certain that Hannibal made no farther efforts in Italy, for deputies came to him from Carthage, recalling him to Africa, nearly at the same time with Mago.

20. Hannibal is said to have been thrown into the most violent agitation, and scarcely to have refrained from shedding tears, on hearing the words of the deputies. When they had delivered the orders which they had in charge, he said,—'Now indeed, they recall me, not in ambiguous terms, but openly, who have, for a long time past, been dragging me home,

by refusing me supplies both of men and money. It is not the Roman people, so often discomfited, and routed, that has conquered Hannibal, but the Carthaginian senate, through the malicious suggestions of envy; nor will Scipio exult and pride himself so much in this my disgraceful retreat, as will Hanno; who, unable to do it by any other means, has crushed our family under the ruins of Carthage.' As he had for some time foreseen this event, he had ships already prepared: dismissing therefore a useless crowd of soldiers, under the appearance of garrisons, into the towns of Bruttium, a few of which adhered to him rather through fear than affection, he carried over to Africa such of the troops as were fit for service. A great number of natives of Italy, refusing to follow him to Africa, and flying to the sanctuary of Juno Lacinia, which, till that day, had never been violated, were barbarously put to death within the walls of the temple. We are told, that hardly any person ever showed more grief on leaving his native soil to go into exile, than Hannibal on his departure from the country of his enemy; that he often looked back on the coasts of Italy, inveighing against gods and men, uttering curses on his own head for not having led his men to Rome, yet reeking with blood from the slaughter at Cannæ: reflecting, with the bitterest vexation, that Scipio, who since his appointment to the consulship, had not looked in the face of the Carthaginian enemy in Italy, had yet spirit to go and attack Carthage; while he, who had slain a hundred thousand fighting men at Thrasymenus and Cannæ, had suffered his strength to moulder away about Casilinum, Cumæ, and Nola. In the midst of such self-reproaches and complaints, he was forced away from Italy, in which he had so long maintained a divided power with the Romans.

21. News was brought to Rome at the same time that both Mago and Hannibal had departed for Africa. But the exultation of the people was diminished by the reflection, that the Roman commanders had shown a want either of spirit or of strength, in not prevent-

ing such departure, though they had received orders to that purpose from the senate. They had also much anxiety concerning the final issue of affairs, now that the whole weight of the war fell on one general and his army. About the same time ambassadors arrived from Saguntum, bringing with them some Carthaginians who had come over to Spain to hire auxiliaries; and whom they had seized, together with their money. They laid down in the porch of the senate-house two hundred and fifty pounds weight of gold and eighty of silver. The agents were thrown into prison; the gold and silver were returned, and thanks given to the Saguntines; presents were made to them besides, and ships provided to convey them home to Spain. Some of the older senators then observed, that 'Men had less lively sensations of good than of evil. Did they remember what terror and consternation Hannibal's coming into Italy had excited? What losses they had sustained, and what lamentations had followed? When the Carthaginian camp was seen from the walls of the city, what vows were then offered up by each particular person and by the whole body of the people! How often, in their assemblies, were their hands stretched out towards heaven, and exclamations heard—O! will that day ever arrive, when we shall see Italy cleared of the enemy, and blessed once more with the enjoyment of peace? That now, at length, in the sixteenth year, the gods had granted their wish, and yet not the slightest proposal had been made of returning thanks to the gods. So deficient are men in gratitude, even at the time when a favor is received; and much less are they apt to retain a proper sense of it afterwards.' Immediately, a general exclamation broke forth from every part of the senate-house, that Publius Ælius the pretor, should take the sense of the senate on the subject; and a decree passed, that a supplication should be solemnised in all the temples for five days, and a hundred and twenty of the greater victims offered in sacrifice.

• 22. After Lælius and Masinissa's ambassadors were

dismissed, accounts were brought, that the Carthaginian ambassadors, who were coming to treat of peace, had been seen at Puteoli, and would proceed from thence by land; on which the senate resolved, that Caius Lælius should be recalled, in order that he might be present at the proceedings. Quintus Fulvius Gillo, a lieutenant-general under Scipio, conducted the Carthaginians to Rome, but they were forbidden to enter the city. Apartments were provided for them in the Villa Publica, and an audience of the senate was granted them in the temple of Bellona. Their discourse was nearly the same with that which they had made to Scipio, throwing off all the blame of the war from the community, and laying it on Hannibal. They affirmed, that 'he had acted contrary to the orders of the senate, not only in passing the Alps, but even in crossing the Iberus; and that he had, without any authority from them, made war not only on the Romans, but before that on the Saguntines; that, if the facts were duly considered, the senate and people of Carthage had, to that day, inviolably observed the treaty with the Romans. Therefore they had nothing farther in charge, than to request, that they might be allowed to abide by the terms of the peace which had been lately concluded with the consul Lutatius.' The pretor, according to the established custom, giving permission to the senators to make such inquiries of the ambassadors as any of them thought proper; the older members, who had been present at the concluding of the treaties, asked various questions relative to them. The Carthaginians replied, that they were not of an age to remember particulars (for almost all of them were young): on which, the house resounded with exclamations, that Punic faith was evident, in appointing such men as these to solicit the renewal of a former peace, with the terms of which they were themselves unacquainted.

23. The ambassadors being ordered to withdraw, the senators proceeded to give their opinions. Marcus Livius recommended, that 'Cneius Servilius, the

consul who was the nearest home, should be sent for, to be present at the proceedings; for as no subject of greater importance than the present could ever come under their consideration, so he did not think it consistent with the dignity of the Roman people, that an affair of such magnitude should be transacted in the absence of both the consuls.' Quintus Metellus, who three years before had been consul, and had also been dictator, proposed, that 'whereas Publius Scipio, by destroying the armies of the enemy, and wasting their country, had reduced them to such necessity, that they sued for peace. No person whatever could be a more competent judge of their intention in making the application, and therefore they should be wholly directed by the advice of that general, who was carrying on the war under the walls of Carthage.' Marcus Valerius Lævinus, who had been twice consul, charged the ~~men~~ with being come as spies, and not as ambassadors; and advised, that 'they should be ordered to depart from Italy; that guards should be sent with them to their ships; and that orders should be sent to Scipio, not to intermit his operations.' Lælius and Fulvius added, that 'Scipio had groundless his hopes of success on Hannibal and Mago not being recalled from Italy. That the Carthaginians would feign a compliance with any measures, while they waited for the arrival of those generals and their armies; and would afterwards, forgetting all gods and all treaties, however recent, pursue the war.' This observation made them more readily concur in the opinion of Lævinus. The ambassadors were therefore dismissed, and almost without an answer.

24. About the same time the consul, Cneius Servilius, not doubting but that he should enjoy the glory of having restored peace to Italy, passed over into Sicily in pursuit of Hannibal, (as if he himself had compelled him to retreat,) intending to proceed from thence to Africa. As soon as this became known at Rome, the senate at first voted that the pretor should write to the consul that they required him to return to

Italy. Afterwards, on the pretor's assuring them that Servilius would pay no regard to his letter, Publius Sulpicius, being created dictator for the purpose, recalled the consul, by virtue of his superior authority; and then, with Marcus Servilius, master of the horse, he spent the remainder of the year in going round to the cities which had forfeited their allegiance during the war, and examining into the conduct of each. During the continuance of the truce a hundred transports, with stores, under the convoy of twenty ships of war, sent from Sardinia by Lentulus, the pretor, arrived safe in Africa, without meeting any obstruction either from the enemy or bad weather. Cneius Octavius, who sailed from Sicily with two hundred transports and thirty ships of war, had not the same good fortune. His voyage was prosperous until he came almost within sight of Africa, when the wind at first subsided into a calm; then springing up heavily from the south-west, his ships were dispersed on all sides. He himself, with the ships of war, struggling through the opposing waves, with excessive toil to the rowers, made the promontory of Apollo: the transports were most of them driven to Ægimurus, an island stretching across the mouth of the bay on which Carthage stands, distant from the city about thirty miles; the rest towards that part of it where the hot-baths are found. All this happened within view of Carthage, and occasioned a concourse of people from all parts in the forum. The magistrates assembled the senate; the multitude in the porch of the senate-house expressed aloud their uneasiness, lest so great a booty should be allowed to escape out of their hands. Although some objected that their faith was pledged in having sued for peace, others in their having agreed to a truce, and which had not yet expired, yet the assembly, being composed of nearly an equal number of the populace as of senators, came to a resolution that Hasdrubal should go to Ægimurus with a fleet of fifty sail, and proceed from thence to pick up the scattered ships of the Romans in the several harbors and along

the coasts. First, the transports from *Ægimurus*, abandoned by the mariners, who effected their escape, were towed to Carthage; afterwards those from the baths.

25. The ambassadors had not yet returned from Rome, nor was it known what were the sentiments of the Roman senate concerning war or peace; neither was the term of the truce expired. Scipio, on this account, more highly resented the injury offered by those who had petitioned for peace and the truce; and, considering it as breaking off the negotiations, and an infraction of the truce, he instantly sent *Marcus Bæbius*, *Lucius Sergius*, and *Lucius Fabius*, ambassadors to Carthage. These, having narrowly escaped suffering violence from the populace, and still apprehending themselves exposed to danger, applied to the magistrates, who had protected them from ill treatment, for a guard of ships on their return. Two triremes were assigned them; which, as soon as they came to the river *Bagrada*, from whence there was a view of the Roman camp, returned to Carthage. There was a Carthaginian fleet stationed at *Utica*, from which two quadriremes were sent, either in consequence of private orders from Carthage, or *Hasdrubal*, who commanded that fleet, (for the infraction was unauthorised by the public,) and which suddenly attacked the Roman quinquereine as it came round the promontory. The Carthaginian vessels attempted to strike the Roman with their prows, but which they could not effect by reason of its activity, nor could the fighting men leap from those lower ships into the higher ones. The quinquereine was gallantly defended, as long as weapons lasted. These, however, spent, there was nothing that could save them but the land being near, and the multitude which poured out from the camp to the coast. They therefore pressed forward, using their utmost efforts with their oars; and running on shore, the men escaped, but the ship was intirely lost. After the truce had been thus broken, by outrage after outrage, *Lælius* and *Fulvius* arrived from Rome, with the Carthaginian ambassadors. To these Scipio declared,

that 'although the Carthaginians had violated not only their faith pledged in the truce, but also the laws of nations respecting ambassadors, yet they should meet no treatment from him unbecoming the maxims of the Roman people and his own principles;' and thus dismissing them, he prepared for war. Hannibal now drew nigh the land, when one of the sailors was ordered to climb the mast, and discover what part of the country they were arrived at; and on his saying that their course pointed to a ruined sepulchre, the Carthaginian, struck with the ill omen, ordered the pilot to steer past that place, put in his fleet at Leptis, and there disembarked his forces.

26. These were the transactions in Africa during that year; those which follow belong to the period in which Marcus Servilius Geminus, who was then master of the horse, and Tiberius Claudius Nero, were consuls. However, towards the end of the former year deputies arrived from the allied cities of Greece. They complained that their lands were ravaged by Philip's garrisons; and that their ambassadors, who had gone into Macedonia to solicit reparation of their injuries, had not been admitted to the presence of the king. At the same time, they gave information that four thousand soldiers, under the command of Sopater, had gone over to Africa, and were marching to the assistance of the Carthaginians; and that some money also had been sent with them; whereon the senate ordered that an embassy should be sent to the king, to acquaint him that the senate considered those proceedings as contrary to the treaty subsisting between them. Caius Terentius Varro, Caius Mamilius, and Marcus Aurelius, were despatched on this business, with an escort of three quinqueremes. That year was remarkable for a great fire, by which the buildings on the Publician hill were burned to the ground; and also for an uncommon overflowing of the rivers: but provisions were plentiful, because, in consequence of peace, all parts of Italy were open for importation; and besides, a great quantity of corn, which had been sent

from Spain, was delivered out to the inhabitants at the easy rate of four asses a bushel, by the curule ediles, Marcus Valerius Falto and Marcus Fabius Buteo. In the same year died Quintus Fabius Maximus, in extreme old age, if it be true, as some writers affirm, that he had been augur for sixty-two years. He was certainly a man worthy of the great surname which he bore, even if he were the first to whom it was applied. He surpassed his father, and was equal to his grandfather, in the honorable posts which he filled. His grandfather, Rullus, was distinguished by a greater number of victories, and greater battles; but the actions of Fabius, having such an antagonist as Hannibal; may be considered as equivalent to them all. He was deemed to possess more caution than spirit: but though it may be doubted whether the dilatoriness of his conduct arose from his natural disposition, or from a conviction that it was best suited to the war in which he was engaged, yet nothing is more certain than that this man alone, as the poet Ennius says, by his delays retrieved our affairs. Quintus Fabius Maximus, his son, was consecrated augur in his place, and Servius Sulpicius Galba pontiff, in his place also; for he held two offices in the college of priests. The Roman games were repeated for one day; the plebeian thrice repeated intire, by the curule ediles, Marcus Sextius Sabinus and Caius Tremellius Flaccus. Both these were elected pretors, and, with them, Caius Livius Salinator and Caius Aurelius Cotta. The different accounts given by writers render it uncertain whether Caius Servilius, consul, presided at the elections that year, or Publius Sulpicius, nominated dictator by him, because he himself was detained in Etruria, being employed, pursuant to a decree of the senate, in holding inquiries relative to the conspiracies of the principal inhabitants.

27. In the beginning of the following year, [A.U.C. 550. B.C. 202] Marcus Servilius and Tiberius Claudius, summoning the senate to the capitol, consulted them concerning the provinces. Both were desirous

of obtaining Africa: they therefore wished that Italy and Africa should be disposed of by lot: but this was opposed, though by Quintus Metellus chiefly. The consuls were ordered to apply to the tribunes, to take the sense of the people as to who should conduct the war in Africa. All the tribes concurred in appointing Publius Scipio. Nevertheless the consuls put the province of Africa to the lot, for so the senate had decreed, and it fell to Tiberius Claudius, who was to carry to Africa a fleet of fifty ships, all quinqueremes, with authority equal to that of Scipio. Marcus Servilius obtained Etruria; and in the same province the command was continued to Caius Servilius, if the senate thought proper that the consul should remain in the city. Of the pretors, Marcus Sextius obtained Gaul, where Publius Quintilius Varus was to deliver to him two legions with the province; Caius Livius, Bruttium, with the two legions which Publius Sempronius, proconsul, had commanded the year before; Cneius Tremellius, Sicily, with directions to receive from Publius Villius Tappulus, pretor of the former year, the province and two legions; Villius, as propretor, was appointed to protect the coast of Sicily with twenty ships of war and one thousand troops; Marcus Pomponius, to convey from thence to Rome, with the remaining twenty ships, one thousand five hundred soldiers. The city jurisdiction fell to Caius Aurelius Cotta: the rest were continued in their provinces, and with the armies to which they were first appointed. Not more than sixteen legions were employed that year in the service of the empire. In order to conciliate the favor of the gods to all their undertakings and proceedings, it was ordered that the consuls should, before they set out to the campaign, celebrate those games, and with the greater victims, which Titus Manlius, dictator, in the consulate of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Titus Quintius, had vowed, provided the commonwealth should for the next five years continue in the same state. The games were exhibited in the circus during four days, and the

victims sacrificed to the gods to whom they had been vowed.

28. Meanwhile, both hope and anxiety daily increased in equal proportion; nor could people judge with certainty whether it was a proper subject of rejoicing that Hannibal had, at the end of sixteen years, departed from Italy, and thereby left the possession of it open to the Roman people, or whether they had not rather cause of fear in his having carried his army safe into Africa. They considered that, although the place was 'changed, the danger was still the same: that Quintus Fabius, lately deceased, who foretold the violence of this struggle, had grounds for what he farther presaged, namely, that Hannibal would prove a more formidable enemy in his own country than he had been in a foreign one. Scipio,' he said, 'would not have to deal with Syphax, a king of undisciplined barbarians, whose army had been sometimes commanded by Statorius, a man but little elevated above the condition of a slave; nor with such a dastardly general as his father-in-law Hasdrubal; nor with tumultuary armies, hastily collected out of a crowd of armed rustics,—but with Hannibal, a general of the greatest bravery; brought up from his infancy in the midst of arms; in his childhood a soldier; when scarcely arrived at the age of youth, a general: who had advanced to an old age through a course of victories: had filled Spain, Gaul, and Italy, from the Alps to the strait, with monuments of his mighty achievements; who was at the head of an army equally experienced in service with himself, hardened by having gone through every kind of difficulty, even beyond what men could be supposed to endure; which had been stained, numberless times, with Roman blood, and had carried with them the spoils, not only of Roman soldiers, but of Roman commanders: that many would meet Scipio in battle who, with their own hands, had slain pretors, generals, and consuls; who, in fine, were decorated with the highest military honors, accustomed as they were to ravage camps and the cities of Italy; and that the magistrates

of the Roman people were not in possession of such a number of fasces as Hannibal could have carried before him of those which had been taken from the generals who had fallen by his arms.' While their thoughts were employed in these discouraging considerations, their anxiety and fears were farther aggravated by other circumstances; for after being accustomed during several years to wage war in different parts of Italy, without any sanguine hopes or prospect of its speedy conclusion, Scipio and Hannibal, champions matched as it were for the final decision, had now raised their eagerest attention. Even those who had the greatest confidence in Scipio, and the strongest hopes of victory, the nearer they saw the completion of their wishes, the more was their solicitude heightened. In a similar manner were the minds of the Carthaginians affected; who, when they turned their eyes on Hannibal, and the greatness of his exploits, repented that they had sued for peace. Then recollecting that they had been twice vanquished in battle; that Syphax had been made prisoner; that they had been expelled from Spain; and finally, that they had been obliged to quit Italy for the defence of their own shores; and that all this had been effected by the valor and conduct of Scipio alone, they looked on him with terror, as a leader whose birth the fates had ordained for their destruction.

29. Hannibal in the mean time arrived at Hadrumetum, and spent a few days there in refreshing his soldiers after the fatigues of the voyage; when, roused by the alarming accounts that all the country round Carthage was possessed by the enemy's troops, he advanced by long marches to Zama, which lies at the distance of five days' journey from that city. Some spies whom he sent out, being intercepted by the Roman guards, and brought to Scipio, he gave them in charge to the military tribunes, with orders to conduct them through the camp, wherever they chose: he encouraged them to lay aside fear, and view every thing; and then, inquiring whether they had taken a satisfactory view of

every particular, he gave them an escort back to Hannibal. Hannibal received no pleasure from any of their accounts. They informed him that Masinissa happened to arrive that very day with six thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and he was particularly struck by the confidence of the enemy, which, he well knew, was not conceived without reason. Wherefore, although he was himself the cause of the war, and had, by his coming, occasioned the violation of the truce, and the breaking off the negotiations; yet, thinking that he might obtain more reasonable terms, by suing for peace while his strength was intire, than after being discomfited, he sent a message to Scipio, requesting a conference. Whether he took this step on his own judgment or by the order of the government, I cannot take on me to affirm. Valerius Antias says that after he had been defeated by Scipio in the first engagement, in which twelve thousand fighting men were slain, and one thousand seven hundred taken, he came as ambassador, with ten others, into the camp to Scipio. Scipio did not decline the conference; and the two generals, by concert, moved forward their camps, in order that they might the more conveniently meet. Scipio sat down at a small distance from the city Nedagara, in a spot every way commodious, besides having water within a javelin's cast: Hannibal took possession of a hill, four miles distant; safe and convenient in all respects, except that there was no water near. In the space between them a spot was chosen open to view on all sides, that there might be no room for treachery.

30. Their armed attendants having retired to an equal distance on both sides, here met (each attended by a single interpreter) the two greatest generals, not only of the age they lived in, but of all who have been recorded in any former time, and equal to any of the kings or commanders of any nations whatever. On sight of each other they both stood for some time silent, struck dumb as it were by mutual admiration. At length Hannibal began thus: 'Since it has been so ordered by fate, that I, who first commenced hostilities

against the Roman people, and have so often been on the point of making a conquest of them, should voluntarily come to sue for peace, I am glad that it is to you, rather than to any other person, that I am to apply. On your part, too, among the many illustrious events of your life, it ought not to be reckoned the least glorious, that Hannibal, to whom the gods granted victory over so many Roman generals, has yielded to you; and that you put an end to this war, which was first rendered remarkable by the calamities of your country, before it was so by those of ours. Here also we may observe the sport of fortune in the disposal of events, that, in the consulate of your father, I took up arms. He was the first Roman general with whom I engaged in battle, and to his son I now come unarmed to solicit peace. It were indeed above all things to be wished that the gods had so disposed the minds of our fathers, that your countrymen had been contented with the dominion of Italy, and ours with that of Africa; for, even on your side, Sicily and Sardinia are not an adequate compensation for the loss of so many fleets, so many armies, so many excellent generals. But what is past, however it may be blamed, cannot be retrieved. Our attempts on the possessions of others have ended in our being necessitated to fight in defence of our own. Thus we not only brought war home to you in Italy, but to ourselves in Africa. You beheld the arms and ensigns of an enemy almost within your gates and on your walls; and we now, from the ramparts of Carthage, hear the din of a Roman camp. The event, therefore, for which we ought most earnestly to pray, and you to wish, above all things, now comes in view: you are negotiating a peace in the midst of a successful career. We who negotiate are the persons most interested in its establishment, and whose stipulations, whatever they may be, will certainly be ratified by our respective states. We want nothing but a disposition not averse from pacific counsels. For my part, so much instruction have I received from age, returning now an old man to my country, which I left a boy, and also

both from prosperity and adversity, that I wish to follow reason rather than fortune. But your early time of life and uninterrupted flow of prosperity, both apt to inspire a degree of warmth ill suited to peaceful plans, excite in my mind very serious apprehensions. He whom fortune has never deceived, rarely considers the uncertainty of future events. What I was at Thrasymenus and at Cannæ, that you are at present. Appointed to a command at an age scarcely fit for service, though your enterprises were of the boldest nature, you were ever successful. By avenging the death of your father and uncle, you acquired a distinguished character for uncommon bravery and filial duty. You recovered Spain, which had been lost, and drove out of it four Carthaginian armies. On being elected consul, when others wanted spirit sufficient to defend Italy, you passed into Africa, and, by there destroying two armies, by taking and burning two camps in one hour, by making a captive of Syphax, a most powerful king, and by seizing on so many of his cities, and so many of ours, you compelled me to relinquish the possession of Italy, which I had continued to hold for sixteen years. Perhaps your wishes tend rather to conquest than to peace. I know the spirit of you Romans, that it ever aims at grand rather than useful objects. Fortune once shone on me with the same benign countenance. But if, along with prosperity, the gods would grant us a sound judgment, we should consider not only what had already happened, but what may possibly happen hereafter. Although you should forget all other instances, I am a sufficient example of every kind of fortune. Me, whom you formerly saw pitching my camp between the Anio and your city, and on the point of scaling the walls of Rome, you now behold here, under the walls of my native city, which is threatened with a siege; deprived of my two brothers, generals of consummate skill and valor; deprecating, in behalf of my own city, those calamities by which formerly I struck terror into yours. The most exalted state of fortune is ever the least to be relied on. A peace con-

cluded at a juncture wherein your affairs flourish, and ours are distressed, reflects splendor and dignity on you who grant it: to us who request it, it is rather necessary than honorable. A certain peace is better and safer than a victory in expectation: the former is in your own disposal, the latter in that of the gods. Risk not, on the chance of one hour, the happy successes of so many years. When you consider your own strength, recollect at the same time, the chances of war. Arms there will be on both sides; but, on both sides, the bodies that contend will be but human. Events less correspond to men's expectations in war, than in any other case whatever. Even supposing that you should gain the victory in battle, the proportion of glory which you would thereby acquire, in addition to what you may now securely enjoy on granting peace, would be by no means commensurate to that which you must lose, should any misfortune happen to you. The chance of but a single hour may destroy at once both the honors which you have attained, and those for which you hope. In the adjusting of matters, every thing, Publius Scipio, will be in your own power; in the other case, you must abide by the pleasure of the gods. Formerly, Marcus Atilius, in this same land, would have been celebrated among the few most extraordinary examples of bravery and success, had he, when possessed of victory, granted peace to the request of our fathers; but by setting no bounds to his ambition, by laying no restraint on his passions; in proportion to the height of glory to which he had attained, was his fall dishonorable. Certainly it is his right who grants peace, not his who sues for it, to prescribe the terms; yet, perhaps, we might not be deemed altogether inadequate to the estimation of what degree of punishment should be inflicted on us. We are ready to give up to you the possession of all those places, on account of which the war was begun: Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, with all the islands that lie in any part of the sea between Africa and Italy. Let us, Carthaginians, confined within the shores of Africa, behold you, since such is the will of the gods, extending your

sovereignty, both by land and sea, over foreign realms. I am far from denying that you have some reason to distrust the faith of the Carthaginians, on account of the insincerity which they showed in their solicitations, and in not waiting the issue of the negotiation. Scipio, the security of a peace being observed depends much on the character of those who sue for it. Your senate, I hear, refused to grant it, partly from the consideration that the persons employed in the embassy were not sufficiently respectable. Hannibal sues for peace, who would not sue for it unless he thought it expedient; and who on account of the same expediency which induces him to sue for it, will also maintain it. And as because the war was begun by me, I took effectual care, until the gods themselves declared against me, that my countrymen should have no reason to complain of it, so will I exert my utmost endeavors to make them satisfied with a peace procured by any means.'

31. The Roman general answered to this effect: 'Hannibal, it was not unknown to me that their expectation of your arrival was what urged the Carthaginians to violate the truce subsisting, and to break off the treaty of peace. Nor do you dissemble it; as you deduct from the former conditions every particular, except those which are, for some time past, in our own power. But as you are solicitous that your countrymen should understand how great a burden they are relieved from by your means, so it is my business to endeavor that they shall not now retract the concessions which they then agreed to make, and enjoy what they then ceded, as a reward of their perfidy. Unworthy of being allowed the same terms, you require additional advantages in consequence of your treachery. Neither were our fathers the aggressors in the war of Sicily, nor we in that of Spain. In the former case the danger of their allies the Mamertines; in the latter, the destruction of Saguntum, armed us in the cause of justice and of duty. That you were the aggressors, you yourself acknow-

lege; and the gods bear witness to it, who directed the issue of the former war according to equity, and who are now directing, and will bring the present to the same issue. As to myself, I am sensible of the instability of human affairs; I am mindful of the power of fortune, and I know that all our undertakings are subject to a thousand casualties. But as, on the other hand, if you were retiring from Italy of your own accord, and, after embarking your troops, were come to solicit peace; if in that case I refused to listen to you, I should acknowledge that I behaved with pride and arrogance: so, on the other hand, now that I have dragged you into Africa, in spite of every effort which you used to prevent it, I am not bound to show you any particular respect. If therefore, in addition to the terms on which it was then intended to conclude a peace (and with which you are acquainted), a full compensation be proposed for having seized our ships and stores, during the subsistence of a truce, and for the insult offered to my ambassadors, I shall then have matter to lay before my council. But if this also seem severe, prepare for war, since you must be insincere in proposing peace.' Thus, without coming to any accommodation, they retired to their respective armies, and informed them that words had been tried to no purpose, that the business must be decided by arms, and they must abide the fortune which the gods should allot them.

32. Arrived at their camps, both gave orders to their soldiers to 'get ready their arms, and call forth their courage, for a decisive contest; in which, if success attended them, they would secure a superiority, not for a day, but for ever. That it would be seen before to-morrow night whether Rome or Carthage was to give laws to all nations: for not Africa, nor Italy, but the world, was to be the prize of victory: while the calamities to those who should be overcome were proportionate to the prize;' for as, on the one hand, the Romans had no chance of escaping in a foreign, and to them unknown, country; so, on the

other, Carthage, having exhausted her last resources, seemed to be threatened with immediate ruin. Next day advanced two by far the most illustrious generals, and two most puissant armies, of the two most powerful states, to complete the splendid fabric of glory which they had erected, and which each was desirous of securing to himself. The minds of all were anxiously suspended between hope and fear; and, whilst they viewed at one time their own, at another the enemy's army, estimating their powers either by the eye or judgment, they met with objects both of encouragement and of dread. Such as did not occur to their own thoughts were suggested by the generals in their admonitions and exhortations. The Carthaginian recounted the exploits of sixteen years in the heart of Italy; so many Roman generals, so many armies utterly destroyed; and when he came to any soldier who had been distinguished for his behavior in a former battle, he reminded him of the honors which he had received. Scipio called to his men's recollection Spain, the late engagements in Africa, and the acknowledgement of the enemy, that they had been compelled by their fears to sue for peace; which, yet, the natural perfidy of their disposition would not allow them to establish. He related also his conference with Hannibal; which, as it had passed in secret, he might have misrepresented at his pleasure. He mentioned, as an encouraging omen, that, as they were coming out to battle, the gods had shown them the same portents, under the auspices of which their fathers had fought at the islands *Ægates*. 'The end of the war, and of all their toils,' he said, 'was now at hand; they had within their reach the plunder of Carthage; and might speedily return home to their country, to their parents, their children, their wives, and their household gods.' These words he uttered in an erect attitude, and with a countenance so animated with joy, that he seemed as if he had already obtained the victory.

33. He then drew up the spearmen in the van, be-

hind them the first-rank men, and closed the rear with the veterans. He did not, as usual, form the cohorts in close order each before their own colors, but placed the companies at some distance from each other, that there might be room to admit the elephants of the enemy, without disturbing the ranks. Lælius, who formerly served under him as lieutenant-general, but that year as questor, by particular appointment, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, he posted with the Italian cavalry on the left wing; Masinissa and the Numidians on the right. The openings between the companies of the cohorts he filled up with light-armed troops, and gave them directions on the attack of the elephants, either to retire to the rear of the files, or, opening to right and left, to form along with the cohorts, so as to leave a passage for those beasts, through which they might advance exposed on both sides to their weapons. Hannibal, in order to strike terror, placed his elephants in the front; of these there were eighty (a number greater than he had ever before brought into the field); next to them the auxiliary Ligurians and Gauls, with the Balearians and Moors intermixed. In the second line he placed the Carthaginians, Africans, and the legion of Macedonians; and then, leaving a moderate interval, he formed the line of reserve, consisting of Italian soldiers, chiefly Brutians, a greater number of whom followed him on his departure from Italy by compulsion and through necessity, rather than from inclination. He also covered the flanks with cavalry, the Carthaginians being posted on the right, the Numidians on the left. Various were the methods of encouragement made use of among such a number of men, differing from each other in language, in manners, in laws, in arms, in garb, in temper, and in their motives for engaging in the service. To the auxiliaries was held out present gain, and that to be greatly increased by future plunder. The Gauls were inflamed by rousing their peculiar and natural hatred to the Romans. To the Ligurians, who had been brought down from craggy mountains, the fertile

plains of Italy were pointed out as the reward of success. The Moors and Numidians he terrified with the prospect of cruel tyranny under Masinissa. Different objects of hope and fear were proposed to each; but to the Carthaginians, nothing but extremes, either on the side of hope or of fear, was presented to view; the walls of their native city, their household gods, the sepulchres of their ancestors, their children, parents, and wives distracted with terror; in a word, utter ruin and abject slavery, or the empire of the world. While the general was thus employed among the Carthaginians, and the commanders of the several nations among their respective countrymen, (many of them speaking by interpreters, being intermixed with foreigners,) the trumpets and cornets sounded on the side of the Romans; and such a shout was raised, that the elephants, particularly in the left wing, turned about against their own men, the Moors and Numidians. Masinissa, charging them while in disorder, easily drove them in, and stripped their line on that flank of the cover of the cavalry. However, a few of these beasts unaffrighted, being driven forward on the Romans, made great slaughter among the light troops, but not without receiving many wounds; for springing back to the companies, and to avoid being trodden under foot, opening a passage for the elephants, they discharged their spears at them from both sides, being intirely exposed as they passed through; nor did the javelins from the first line of troops cease until, being driven away from the Roman line by the weapons showered on them, they put to flight even the Carthaginian cavalry in their own right wing. Lælius, seeing the enemy in this confusion, charged their disordered troops, and put them to flight.

34. The Carthaginian line was exposed on both flanks, not having cavalry to cover them, when the infantry began to engage; but no longer on an equality with the Roman, either in hope or in strength. There was another circumstance, which, though trifling in appearance, is yet of great consequence in action.

The shout on the side of the Romans was composed of the same sounds uttered by every one ; consequently it was the stronger and more terrible : on the other side, the sounds were dissonant, uttered in the discordant languages of many different nations. Besides, the Roman manner of fighting was steady, being accustomed to press against the enemy with their own weight, and that of their arms. That of the Carthaginian was more loose, with greater agility than strength. Immediately, therefore, at the first onset, the Romans made the line of the enemy give way ; and then, thrusting against them with their elbows and the bosses of their shields, and stepping forward into the place from which they had pushed them, they rapidly gained ground. The rear ranks also, on perceiving the enemy's line shrink, pushed forward those who were before them, which greatly increased their force in repelling the enemy. On the other side, the Africans and Carthaginians, so far from supporting the auxiliaries, who were giving way, drew back ; fearing lest, if that first line made an obstinate resistance, the enemy in cutting through those, might close with them. The auxiliaries therefore quickly turned their backs, and facing about to their own party, some of them retreated into the second line ; others, who were not received there, made use of their arms against them, enraged at not having been supported before, and at being now excluded. So that there were, in a manner, two battles carried on together ; the Carthaginians being obliged to engage in fight, and at the same time, both with their mercenaries and with the Romans. They did not, however, admit those craven soldiers into their line, which was still firm and fresh ; but, closing the ranks, drove them off to the wings, and to the open plains round the field of battle. The place where the auxiliaries had lately stood was filled up with such a number of slain, and such a quantity of arms, that it was rather more difficult to make way through them, than it had been through the body of troops ; the spearmen, however, who were in the van,

pursuing the enemy, as each could find a passage through the heaps of carcases and weapons and streams of blood, disordered both their battalions and ranks. The battalions of the first rank men also, seeing the line before them in confusion, began to waver; which, as soon as Scipio observed, he instantly ordered a retreat to be sounded for the spearmen, and carrying off the wounded to the rear, brought up the first rank men and veterans to the wings, in order that the line of the spearmen in the centre might be the more secure and firm. Thus was a new battle begun, for they had now come up to their real antagonists, who were on an equality with them, both in respect to the kind of arms which they used, of their experience in war, the fame of their exploits, and the greatness both of their hopes and dangers. But the Romans had the advantage in number, and also in spirit, as having already routed the cavalry and the elephants, and, after having defeated the first line, engaging now with the second.

35. Lælius and Masinissa, who had pursued the flying cavalry to some distance, returning at this critical juncture, fell on the rear of the enemy; and by this charge effectually routed them. Many were surrounded in the field and slain; many, being dispersed in flight through the open country adjoining, where the cavalry were intirely masters, perished in various places. Of the Carthaginians and their allies there were slain on that day above twenty thousand; about the same number were taken, with a hundred and thirty-three military standards, and eleven elephants. Of the conquerors there fell two thousand. Hannibal, escaping during the confusion with a few horsemen, fled to Hadrumetum, having left no effort untried to rally his troops before he left the field. Scipio himself, and all who were skilled in the military art, allowed him the merit of having made the disposition of his forces with singular judgment; placing the elephants in the front, in order that their ungoverned onset and insupportable violence might put it out of the power of the Romans to follow their ensigns, and pre-

serve their ranks, in which they placed their chief confidence; then the auxiliaries, before the line of Carthaginians, in order that these men, made up of the refuse of all nations, who were retained in their duty, not by any sense of honor, but by gain, should have no prospect of safety in flight, and at the same time should stand the first brunt and fury of the foe, that if they did no other service, they might at least be as shields to blunt their swords: next, the Carthaginian and African soldiers, in whom lay all his hopes, in order that they, being equal in all respects with the Romans, might have the advantage of engaging fresh against men fatigued and wounded; separating the Italians at some distance from the rest, and placing them in the rear, as he knew not with certainty whether they were friends or foes. Hannibal, after exerting this last effort of bravery, having fled to Hadrumetum, on receiving a summons, returned to Carthage in the thirty-sixth year after he had left it, and when a boy. He acknowledged, in the senate-house, that he was vanquished not only in the recent battle, but in the whole of the war; and that there was no other hope of avoiding ruin, but in obtaining peace.

36. Immediately after the battle, Scipio having taken and plundered the enemy's camp, returned with immense booty to the sea-coast to his fleet, having received an account that Publius Lentulus was arrived at Utica with fifty ships of war, a hundred transports, and store of all kinds. With a view therefore of increasing the consternation at Carthage, by showing them objects of terror on every side, after despatching Lælius to Rome with news of the victory, he ordered Cneius Octavius to conduct the legions to that city by land; and, joining the fleet of Lentulus, lately arrived, with his own which he had before, he himself, setting sail from Utica, steered for the harbor of Carthage. When he had arrived within a small distance, he was met by a Carthaginian ship, dressed with fillets and branches of olive, on board of which were ten ambassadors, the chief men of the state, sent by the advice

of Hannibal to sue for peace. These coming under the stern of the general's ship, holding out the badges of supplicants, besought and implored the favor and compassion of Scipio: but they received no other answer, than that they should come to Tunes, to which place he intended to remove his camp. Then, after taking a view of the situation of Carthage, not so much for the sake of any present use which he intended to make of his knowledge of it, as of dispiriting the enemy, he returned to Utica, and at the same time recalled Octavius thither. As they advanced towards Tunes, an account was brought that Vermina, son of Syphax, with a greater number of horse than of foot, was coming to the aid of the Carthaginians. A detachment of the army, with all the cavalry, attacking this body of Numidians on their march, on the first day of the Saturnalia, routed them without much difficulty; and every possibility of flight being cut off by the surrounding cavalry, fifteen thousand men were slain, one thousand two hundred taken, together with fifteen hundred horses, and seventy-two military standards. The prince himself, with very few attendants, made his escape during the tumult. The camp was then pitched near Tunes, in the same place as before, whither thirty ambassadors came from Carthage to Scipio, and the behavior of these was much more calculated to excite compassion than that of the former, as their distress was still increasing. But, from the recollection of their late perfidy, they were heard with the less pity. In the council, though all were stimulated by just resentment to pursue Carthage to destruction, yet, when they considered how great an undertaking it was, and what a length of time the siege of a city, so strong and so well fortified, would require, (Scipio himself also being uneasy, under the apprehension of a successor being appointed in his place, who might claim the glory of having terminated the war, though it had been actually brought to an issue by the labors and dangers of another,) they all became inclined to peace.

37. The next day the ambassadors being again called, and, with severe rebukes for their perfidy, admonished, that, instructed by so many calamities, they should at length be convinced of the regard due to the gods, and to an oath, these terms of peace were prescribed to them:—‘That they should live free under their own laws, should enjoy the possession of whatever cities, whatever territories, and whatever boundaries they possessed before the war; and that the Roman general would, on that day, put an end to the devastation of their country. That they should deliver up to the Romans all deserters, fugitives, and prisoners; and should surrender their ships of war, except ten, together with all their trained elephants, and should not train any more. That they should wage no war, either in, or out of Africa, without the permission of the Roman people; should make restitution to Masinissa, and conclude a treaty with him; should supply corn and pay to the auxiliaries, until their ambassadors should return from Rome. That they should pay, within fifty years, ten thousand talents of silver,¹ by equal payments, according to a mode laid down in writing, and should give a hundred hostages to be approved of by Scipio, none younger than fourteen years or older than thirty. That he would grant them a truce on this condition: that the transports which had been captured during the former truce, together with their cargoes, be restored: if this were not complied with, they were not to expect either truce or peace.’ When the ambassadors, who were sent home with these conditions, reported them in an assembly of the people, Gisgo having stood forth to dissuade them from accepting the terms, and being listened to by the multitude, who were as impatient of quiet, as unfit for war, Hannibal, filled with indignation on finding objections made and listened to at such a juncture, laid hold of Gisgo with his hand, and pulled him down from the place on which he stood.

¹ 1,437,500*l*.

When this sight, unusual in a free state, raised a murmur among the citizens, he being accustomed to military manners, and disconcerted by their reception of him, said to them: 'At nine years of age I left this city, at the end of the thirty-sixth I have returned. The rules of war, I think, I perfectly understand, having from my childhood been continually supplied with opportunities of learning them, at some times by the state of my own affairs, at others, by that of the public. The privileges, laws, and manners of the city and of the forum you ought to teach me.' Having thus apologised for his imprudence, he spoke at large concerning the peace, showing how necessary it was, and that the terms were not unreasonable. The greatest difficulty of all was that of the fleet, which had been captured during the truce; nothing was to be found but the ships themselves, nor was it easy to collect the effects, those who were charged with having them in their possession making opposition to all that was proposed. It was at length resolved, that the ships should be restored, that the men at all events should be collected, and that the other matters which could not be produced, should be left to the valuation of Scipio, according to which the Carthaginians should make compensation in money. Some say that Hannibal, having gone from the field to the sea-coast, sailed immediately in a ship which had been prepared, and went to king Antiochus; and that when Scipio made it a principal demand that Hannibal should be given up to him, he was told that Hannibal had quitted Africa.

38. On the return of the ambassadors to Scipio, the questors were ordered to give in a return, extracted from the public accounts, of the public property which had been on board the ships; and the owners to make a return of the private property: for the amount of the value, twenty-five thousand pounds weight of silver were required to be immediately paid, and a truce for three months was granted to the Carthaginians. A clause was added, that during the truce, they should

not send ambassadors to any other place than to Rome ; and that if any such should come to Carthage, they should not dismiss them until the Roman general was made acquainted with their business. With the Carthaginian ambassadors were sent to Rome Lucius Veturius Philo, Marcius Ralla, and Lucius Scipio, the general's brother. From that time the great supplies from Sicily and Sardinia caused such cheapness of provisions, that the merchant often furnished corn to the mariners for the freight. At Rome there had been some uneasiness on the first account of the Carthaginians having recommenced hostilities, and Tiberius Claudius had been ordered to conduct the fleet to Sicily with all expedition, and to pass over from thence to Carthage ; and the other consul, Marcus Servilius, to remain in the city, until the state of affairs in Africa should be known. Tiberius Claudius proceeded slowly in every step towards the equipment and sailing of the fleet, being offended at the senate having voted that Scipio, in preference to the consul, should have the honor of prescribing the terms of peace. Accounts of prodigies also, arriving a little before the news of the revival of hostilities, had raised people's apprehensions. At Cumæ, the orb of the sun seemed to be diminished, and a shower of stones fell ; and in the district of Veliturnum, the earth sunk in great chasms, in which trees were swallowed. At Aricia, the forum, and shops round it ; at Frusino, several parts of the wall, and a gate, were struck by lightning. On the Palatine hill, too, a shower of stones fell. This prodigy, according to the method handed down by tradition, was expiated by a nine days' solemnity ; the others by the greater victims. Among the rest, an unusual overflowing of the rivers was also considered as a prodigy ; for there was such an inundation of the Tiber, that, the circus being filled with water, preparations for the games of Apollo were made on the outside of the Colline gate, near the temple of Venus Erycina. But on the very day of the games, the weather suddenly clearing up, the procession, which

had begun to advance towards the Colline gate, was recalled, and conducted to the circus, on its being known that the water had retired from thence. Its own proper place being thus restored to this solemn exhibition gave much joy to the people, and added considerably to the splendor of the games.

39. The consul Claudius, having at last set out from the city, was overtaken by a violent storm between the ports of Cosa and Laureta, and brought into imminent danger; however, having got as far as Populonii, where he continued until a change of weather, he proceeded to the island Ilva; from Ilva to Corsica, and from thence to Sardinia. There, as he was sailing by the Mad Mountains, a still more furious tempest surprised him, and dispersed his fleet. Many ships were damaged, and lost their rigging, and several were wrecked. In this harassed and shattered condition the fleet arrived at Carales, where the winter came on them, while they were employed in docking and repairing the ships. Meanwhile the year coming to a conclusion, and it not being proposed to continue him in command, Tiberius Claudius, after he had ceased to hold any public office, brought home the fleet. Marcus Servilius, having nominated Caius Servilius Geminus dictator, lest he might be recalled on account of the elections, set out for his province. The dictator named Publius Ælius Pætus master of the horse. The elections, though many days were appointed for the purpose, were still prevented by storms; so that the magistrates of the former year going out of office, on the day preceding the ides of March, and no successors being appointed, the state was without curule magistrates. Lucius Manlius Torquatus, a pontiff, died that year; in his place was substituted Caius Sulpicius Galba. The Roman games were thrice repeated intire by the curule ediles, Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Quintus Fulvius. Some of the inferior officers belonging to the ediles, being convicted, on the testimony of a discoverer, of having secretly conveyed money out of the treasury, were condemned, not with-

out reflecting dishonor on the edile Lucullus. Publius Ælius Tubero and Lucius Lætorius, plebeian ediles, on some irregularity being discovered in their election, abdicated their office, after they had celebrated the games, and, on occasion thereof, a feast to Jupiter : having also erected in the capitol three images, formed of silver raised by fines. The dictator and master of the horse, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, celebrated the games of Ceres.

40. When the Roman deputies, together with the Carthaginian ambassadors, were come to Rome from Africa, the senate assembled in the temple of Bellona. Lucius Veturius Philo acquainted them (to the great joy of the fathers), that a battle had been fought with Hannibal, in which the Carthaginians were finally overpowered, and an end put at last to that disastrous war ; he added, as a small accession to that great and happy event, that Vermina, son of Syphax, had also been vanquished. He was then ordered to go out to the general assembly, and to communicate the joyful news to the people. On this, after mutual congratulations, a public thanksgiving being ordered, all the temples in the city were thrown open, and a supplication for three days decreed. The ambassadors of the Carthaginians, and of king Philip, for they also had arrived, requesting an audience of the senate, the dictator answered, by order of the fathers, that the new consuls would procure them an audience. The elections were then held. [A. U. C. 551. B. C. 201.] The consuls elected were Cneius Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Ælius Pætus ; the pretors, Marcus Junius Pennus, to whom the city jurisdiction fell ; Marcus Valerius Falto acquired by lot Bruttium ; Marcus Fabius Buteo, Sardinia ; Publius Ælius Tubero, Sicily. With respect to the provinces of the consuls, it was determined that nothing should be done until the ambassadors of king Philip and the Carthaginians were heard ; for it was plainly foreseen that the conclusion of the one war would be quickly followed by the commencement of another. The consul Cneius Lentulus

was inflamed with a strong desire of obtaining the province of Africa; having in view either an easy conquest, or, if it were now to be concluded, the glory of terminating so great a war in his consulate. He declared, therefore, that he would not suffer any business to be done until Africa were decreed to him; for his colleague declined putting in his claim for it, being a moderate, prudent man, who perceived that a contest with Scipio for that honor, besides being unjust, would be also unequal. Quintus Minucius Thermus and Manius Acilius Glabrio, tribunes of the people, said that 'Cneius Cornelius was endeavoring to carry a point which had been attempted in vain, the year before, by the consul Tiberius Claudius: that, by the direction of the senate, the question had been proposed to the people respecting the command in Africa, and that the thirty-five tribes unanimously decreed that command to Publius Scipio.' The affair, after being canvassed with much heat both in the senate and in the assembly of the people, was at last brought to this conclusion,—that it should be left to the determination of the former. The fathers, therefore, on oath, for so it had been agreed, voted that the consuls should settle between themselves, or cast lots for their provinces, which of them should have Italy, and which a fleet of fifty ships. That he to whose lot it fell to command the fleet should sail to Sicily; and if peace could not be concluded with the Carthaginians, should pass over from thence to Africa, where he the said consul should command at sea, and Scipio on land, with the same extent of authority as heretofore. If the terms of peace should be agitated, that then the tribunes should take the opinion of the people, whether they would order the consul or Publius Scipio to settle those terms, and if the victorious army was to be conducted home, whom they would order to do it. If they should order the peace to be granted by Publius Scipio, and the army also to be brought home by him, that then the consul should not cross over from Sicily to Africa. That the other consul, to

whose lot Italy fell, should receive two legions from Marcus Sextius, pretor.

41. Publius Scipio's command in the province of Africa was prolonged, with the armies which he then had. To Marcus Valerius Falto, pretor, were decreed the two legions in Bruttium, which Caius Livius had commanded the preceding year. Publius Ælius, pretor, was to receive two legions in Sicily from Cneius Tremellius. One legion, which had been under Publius Lentulus, propritor, was decreed to Marcus Fabius, for Sardinia. The command in Etruria was continued to Marcus Servilius, consul of the former year, with his own two legions. With regard to Spain, the senate ordered, that whereas Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus had remained in that country for several years, the consuls should therefore make application to the tribunes, that, if they thought proper, they should ask the people, whom they would order to have charge in Spain; and that the person so ordered should collect such a number of Romans out of the two armies as would make up one legion, and as many of the allies of the Latine confederacy as would form fifteen cohorts; with which he should conduct the business of the province; and that Lucius Cornelius and Lucius Manlius shall lead home the veteran soldiers to Italy. To the consul Cornelius was decreed a squadron of fifty ships out of the two fleets, one of which was under Cneius Octavius in Africa, the other under Publius Vellius, guarding the coast of Sicily; with liberty to take such of those vessels as he might please. It was also decreed that Publius Scipio should keep the fifty ships of war on his station as before; and that if Cneius Octavius chose to continue in the command of these as heretofore, he should have it for that year as propritor: that if Lælius should be set at the head of the fleet, then Octavius should return to Rome, and bring home such ships as the proconsul had not occasion for. Ten ships of war were also decreed to Marcus Fabius for Sardinia; and the consuls were ordered to enlist two legions for the

city, so that the state should have in its service, for that year, fourteen legions, and one hundred and ten ships of war.

42. The next business attended to was that of the envoys of Philip and the Carthaginians. It was thought proper that the Macedonians should be first introduced. Their discourse comprehended a variety of subjects: they first endeavored to clear themselves of those matters, of which the ambassadors sent from Rome to the king had complained, relative to the depredations committed on the allies. Then, on their part, they remonstrated on the conduct of the allies of the Romans, and particularly on that of Marcus Aurelius, who, they said, being one of the three ambassadors sent to them, had stayed behind the rest, levied soldiers, committed hostilities against them, and fought several pitched battles with their commanders. They afterwards demanded that the Macedonians, and their captain, Sopater, who had served for pay under Hannibal, and having been made prisoners were still detained, might be restored to them. In opposition to this, Marcus Furius, who had been sent from Macedonia to Aurelius for the purpose, asserted, that 'Aurelius had been directed to take care, lest the allies, wearied out by insults and depredations, should go over to the king: that he had not gone beyond the boundaries of the confederated states, but had endeavored to prevent devastations being committed with impunity within their territories: that Sopater was one of the king's particular favorites, one of those distinguished with the purple: and that he had been lately sent with four thousand men and a sum of money into Africa to the assistance of Hannibal and the Carthaginians.' The Macedonians being interrogated on these points, and not giving any clear answers, the senate, without farther discussion, told them that 'the king was seeking war; and, if he persisted, would quickly find it. That the treaty had been doubly violated by him: first, in offering injury to the allies of the Roman people, assaulting them in open hostilities; se-

condly, in assisting their enemies with troops and money. That Publius Scipio had acted and was acting properly and regularly, in treating as foes, and throwing into confinement, those who were taken in arms against the Roman people; and that Marcus Aurelius did his duty to the state, and in a manner agreeable to the senate, in protecting the allies of the Roman people by arms, since he could not do it by the authority of the treaty.' The Macedonians being dismissed with this severe answer, the Carthaginian ambassadors were called; on sight of whose ages and dignities, every one was ready to observe that they were now in earnest in their application for peace, for that these were by far the most respectable persons of their nation. Hasdrubal (by his countrymen surnamed Hædus) was distinguished above the rest, having always recommended peace, and opposed the Barcine faction. On that account great attention was paid to him, when he transferred the blame of the war from the state on the ambition of a few. After discoursing on various heads, at one time refuting charges which had been made against them; at another, acknowledging some, lest, by denying what was manifestly true, he might render forgiveness more difficult; and then going so far as to admonish the conscript fathers to show mildness and moderation in prosperity, he added, that 'if the Carthaginians had listened to him and Hanno, and made a proper use of occurrences as they happened, they would have been in a condition of prescribing terms, instead of begging a peace, as they now did: but men were seldom blessed with good fortune and a good understanding at the same time. That the Roman people were therefore invincible, because, when successful, they never lost sight of the maxims of wisdom and prudence; and indeed, it would have been surprising had they acted otherwise: while those who are unaccustomed to success, unable to restrain their transports, run into extravagance. To the Roman people the joy of victory was now habitual, and almost a matter of course; and they

had enlarged their empire more by their lenity to the vanquished, than by their victories.' The discourse of the others was more calculated to excite compassion: they represented, 'to what a low state, from an exalted height, the affairs of the Carthaginians had fallen. That they who had lately extended the power of their arms over almost the whole world, had now little left them except the walls of Carthage. Shut up within these, they could see nothing, either on land or sea, that they could call their own. Even of the city itself, and of their habitations, they had no other tenure, than the Romans not choosing to wreak their vengeance on those also, when no other object for it now remained.' When it appeared that the fathers were moved by compassion, one of the senators, it is said, incensed at the perfidy of the Carthaginians, called out to them, and asked, 'What gods they would now invoke as witnesses in the pending treaty, having broken faith with those in whose name the former one was concluded.'—'The same,' said Hasdrubal, 'who now show such resentment against the violators of treaties.'

43. The minds of all inclining to peace, Cneius Lentulus, consul, whose province was the fleet, protested against the senate passing a decree. On which the tribunes, Manius Acilius and Quintus Manucius, put the question to the people, 'Whether they would choose and order the senate to decree that peace should be made with the Carthaginians; whom they would order to grant peace, and whom to conduct the armies home from Africa?' All the tribes unanimously passed the question as it was put, and ordered Publius Scipio to grant the peace, and also to conduct the armies home. In consequence of this order of the people, the senate decreed that Publius Scipio, in consort with the ten ambassadors, should conclude a peace with the people of Carthage, on such terms as he should judge proper. The Carthaginians, then, after returning thanks to the senate, requested that they might be permitted to enter the city, and to converse with their countrymen, who,

having been made prisoners, were still kept so: among whom some of them had relations and friends, men of distinction, and to others they had messages from their relations. After a meeting with their friends, on making a second request, that liberty might be allowed them to ransom such of them as they chose, they were ordered to give in a list of their names; and when they had given in about two hundred, a decree of the senate was passed, that 'the Roman ambassadors should carry two hundred of the prisoners, such as the Carthaginians should select, into Africa, to Publius Cornelius Scipio, and give him directions, that if peace were concluded, he should restore them without ransom to the Carthaginians.' The heralds being ordered to go to Africa to ratify the treaty, at their desire the senate passed a decree in these words: that 'they should carry with them flint stones of their own, and vervain of their own: that the Roman commander should give them the order to strike the treaty, and that they should call on him for the herbs.' This was a kind of herb brought from the capitol, and given to the heralds on such occasions. The deputies being dismissed from Rome in this manner, as soon as they came to Scipio in Africa, concluded a peace on the terms before mentioned. The Carthaginians delivered up the ships of war, elephants, deserters, fugitives, and four thousand prisoners, among whom was Quintus Terentius Culleo, a senator. The ships Scipio ordered to be carried out into the deep, and burned. Some say that they amounted to five hundred, of all sorts, which were worked with oars; and that the sudden sight of these in flames was as great a shock to the Carthaginians, as if Carthage itself had been set on fire. The deserters were treated with more severity than the fugitives; those who were of the Latine confederacy were beheaded, the Romans were crucified.

44. The last peace with the Carthaginians had been made forty years before this, in the consulate of Quintus Lutatius and Aulus Manlius. The late war began twenty-three years after, in the consulate of Publius

Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius, and ended in the seventeenth year, when Cneius Cornelius and Publius Ælius Pætus were consuls. We are told that Scipio often said afterwards, that the ambition, first of Tiberius Claudius, and then of Cneius Cornelius, was what prevented that war from ending in the utter destruction of Carthage. The Carthaginians having been exhausted by the long continuance of the late struggles, found it difficult to raise the first contribution money, so that the senate-house was filled with grief and lamentations; on which occasion, it is said, that Hannibal was observed to laugh; and that being reproved by Hasdrubal Hædus, for laughing in a moment of public sorrowing, and when he himself was the cause of their tears, he said: 'If the inward thoughts could be perceived in the same manner as the look of the countenance is perceived by the eye, you would be immediately convinced that the laughter which you blame proceeds not from a heart elated with joy, but from one driven almost to madness by misfortunes; and yet it is not, by any means, so unseasonable as those absurd and inconsistent tears of yours. Then ought you to have wept, when our arms were taken from us, our ships burned, and we ourselves forbidden to engage in foreign wars: that was the wound by which we fell. And do not imagine that the measures taken against you by the Romans were dictated merely by animosity. No great state can remain long at rest. If it has no enemies abroad, it finds them at home; as overgrown bodies seem safe from external injuries, but suffer grievous inconveniences from their own strength. We feel, it seems, for the public misfortunes, only in proportion as our private affairs are affected by them; and none of them stings more deeply than the loss of money. Thus, when the spoils were stripped off from vanquished Carthage, and you saw her left naked among so many armed states of Africa, not one of you uttered a groan; now, because a contribution must be made to the tribute out of your private properties, you lament as if the existence of the state

were terminated. Much I dread lest you quickly feel that the subject of your tears this day is the lightest of your misfortunes.' Such were Hannibal's sentiments which he delivered to the Carthaginians. Scipio, having called an assembly, bestowed on Masinissa, in addition to his paternal kingdom, the city of Cirtha, and the other cities and lands belonging to the territories of Syphax, which had fallen into the hands of the Roman people. He ordered Cneius Octavius to conduct the fleet to Sicily, and deliver it to the consul Cneius Cornelius; and the ambassadors of the Carthaginians to go to Rome, in order that the terms stipulated for by him might be ratified by the authority of the senate and the order of the people.

45. Peace being established by sea and land, he embarked his army, and carried it over to Lilybæum in Sicily; and from thence, sending a great part of his troops round by sea, he himself landed in Italy. As he proceeded through the country, he found it no less delighted at finding there was an end to the war, than at the success in it; not only the inhabitants of the cities pouring out to show their respect to him, but crowds of the country-people also filling up the roads: and thus he arrived at Rome, where he entered the city in the most splendid triumph which had ever been beheld. He carried into the treasury a hundred and twenty-three thousand pounds weight of silver, and out of the spoil distributed to each of his soldiers four hundred asses.¹ The death of Syphax caused some diminution in the splendor of the show, but none in the glory of the general who triumphed. He died a short time before at Tibur, to which place he had been removed from Alba. His death, however, made some noise, for he was honored with a public funeral. Polybius, a writer of no contemptible authority, asserts that this king was led in triumph. Quintus Terentius Culleo followed Scipio in his triumph, with a cap on his head;² and through his whole life after, as became him,

¹ 11. 5s. 10d.

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² The symbol of liberty.

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he respected him as the author of his liberty. I have not been able to discover whether it was the affection of the soldiers, or the attachment of the people, which honored Scipio with the surname of Africanus; nor whether it was brought into use by the flattery of his friends, as that of Felix given to Sylla, and of Magnus to Pompey, in the memory of our fathers. He was certainly the first general distinguished by the title of a nation which he had subdued. Others, afterwards following his example, though far inferior in the greatness of their achievements, assumed pompous inscriptions for their statues, and splendid surnames for their families.

BOOK XXXI.

CHAP. 1. I FEEL a degree of pleasure in having come to the end of the Punic war, as if myself had borne a share of the toil and danger: for though it ill becomes a person, who has ventured to promise an intire history of all the Roman affairs, to be fatigued by any particular parts of so extensive a work: yet when I reflect that sixty-three years, (for so many there are from the first Punic war to the end of the second,) have filled up as many volumes for me, as the four hundred and eighty-seven years, from the building of the city to the consulates of Appius Claudius, who first made war on the Carthaginians, I plainly perceive that, like those who are tempted by the shallows near the shore to walk into the sea, the farther I advance, I am carried into the greater depth and abyss, as it were; and that my work rather increases on my hands than diminishes, as I expected it would, by the first parts being completed. The peace with Carthage

was quickly followed by a war with Macedonia: a war, not to be compared with the former, indeed, either in danger, or in the abilities of the commanders, or the valor of the soldiers; but rather more remarkable with regard to the renown of their former kings, the ancient fame of that nation, and the vast extent of their empire, which formerly comprehended a large part of Europe, and the greater part of Asia. The contest with Philip, which had begun about ten years before, had been intermitted for the three last years, the Ætolians having been the occasion both of the commencement and of the cessation of hostilities. The Romans being now disengaged from all employment, and being incensed against Philip, on account both of his infringing the peace with regard to the Ætolians, and the other allies in those parts, and also on account of his having lately sent aid of men and money into Africa to Hannibal and the Carthaginians, were excited to a renewal of the war by the intreaties of the Athenians, whose country he had ravaged, and shut up the inhabitants within the walls of the city.

2. About the same time ambassadors arrived both from king Attalus, and from the Rhodians, with information that the Macedonian was tampering with the states of Asia. To these embassies an answer was given, that the senate would give attention to the affairs of Asia. The determination with regard to the making war on him was left open to the consuls, who were then in their provinces. In the mean time, three ambassadors were sent to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, namely, Caius Claudius Nero, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, to announce their conquest of Hannibal and the Carthaginians; to give thanks to the king for his faithful adherence to his engagements in the time of their distress, when even the nearest allies of the Romans abandoned them; and to request that, if they should be compelled by ill treatment to break with Philip, he would preserve the same disposition towards the Roman people. In Gaul, about this time, the consul, Publius Ælius, having

heard that, before his arrival, the Boians had made inroads on the territories of the allies, levied two occasional legions on account of this disturbance; and adding to them four cohorts from his own army, ordered Caius Oppius, the prefect, to march with this tumultuary band through Umbria (which is called the Sappinian district), and to invade the territories of the Boians; leading his own troops thither openly, over the mountains which lay in the way. Oppius, on entering the same, for some time committed depredations with good success and safety. But afterwards, having pitched on a place near a fort called Mutilum, convenient enough for cutting down the corn which was now ripe, and setting out, without having acquired a knowledge of the country, and without establishing armed posts of sufficient strength to protect those who were unarmed and intent on their work, he was suddenly surrounded, together with his foragers, and attacked by the Gauls. On this, even those who were furnished with weapons, struck with dismay, betook themselves to flight. Seven thousand men, dispersed through the corn fields, were put to the sword, among whom was the commander himself, Caius Oppius. The rest were driven in confusion into the camp; from whence, in consequence of a resolution there formed, they set out on the following night, without any particular commander; and, leaving behind a great part of their baggage, made their way through woods almost impassable to the consul, who returned to Rome without having performed any thing in his province worth notice, except that he ravaged the lands of the Boians, and made a treaty with the Ingaunian Ligurians.

3. The first time he assembled the senate, it was unanimously ordered that he should propose no other business before that which related to Philip, and the complaints of the allies; it was of course immediately taken into consideration, and in full meeting decreed that Publius Ælius, consul, should send such person as he might think proper, vested with command to receive the fleet which Cneius Octavius was bringing home

from Sicily, and pass over to Macedonia. Accordingly, Marcus Valerius Lævinus, proprætor, was sent; and, receiving thirty-eight ships from Cneius Octavius, near Vibo, he sailed to Macedonia, where, being met by Marcus Aurelius, the ambassador, and informed what numerous forces and what large fleets the king had prepared, and how busily he was employed in prevailing on divers states to join him, applying to some in person, to others by agents, not only through all the cities of the continent, but even in the islands. Lævinus was convinced from this that the war required vigorous exertions on the side of the Romans; for, should they be dilatory, Philip might be encouraged to attempt an enterprise like to that which had been formerly undertaken by Pyrrhus, who possessed not such large dominions. He therefore desired Aurelius to convey this intelligence, by letter, to the consuls and to the senate.

4. Towards the end of this year the senate, taking into consideration the lands to be given to the veteran soldiers, who under the conduct and auspices of Publius Scipio had finished the war in Africa, decreed that Marcus Tullius, prætor of the city, should, if he thought proper, appoint ten commissioners to survey and distribute among them that part of the Samnite and Apulian lands which was the property of the Roman people. For this purpose were appointed, Publius Servilius, Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, Caius and Marcus Servilius, both surnamed Geminus, Lucius and Aulus Hostilius Cato, Publius Villius Tappulus, Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, Publius Ælius Prætor, and Quintus Flaminius. At the same time Publius Ælius presiding at the election of consuls, Publius Sulpicius Galba and Caius Aurelius Cotta were elected. Then were chosen prætors, Quintus Minucius Rufus, Lucius Furius Purpureo, Quintus Fulvius Gillo, Cneius Sergius Plancus. The Roman stage-games were exhibited, in a sumptuous and elegant manner, by the curule ediles, Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Lucius Quintus Flaminius, and repeated for two days; and

a vast quantity of corn, which Scipio had sent from Africa, was distributed by them to the people, with strict impartiality and general satisfaction, at the rate of four asses a peck. The plebeian games were thrice repeated intire by the plebeian ediles, Lucius Apustius Fullo and Quintus Minucius Rufus; the latter of whom was, from the edileship, elected pretor. There was also a feast of Jove on occasion of the games.

5. In the year five hundred and fifty-two from the building of the city, [A. U. C. 552. B. C. 200] Publius Sulpicius Galba and Caius Aurelius being consuls, within a few months after the conclusion of the peace with the Carthaginians, war began against king Philip. This was the first business introduced by the consul, Publius Sulpicius, on the ides of March, the day on which, in those times, the consuls entered into office; and the senate decreed that the consuls should perform sacrifices with the greater victims to such gods as they should judge proper, with prayers to this purpose:—that 'the business which the senate and people of Rome had then under deliberation, concerning the state, and the entering on a new war, might be attended with success and prosperity to the Roman people, the allies, and the Latine confederacy;' and that, after the sacrifices and prayers, they should consult the senate on the state of public affairs and the provinces. At this time, very opportunely for promoting a war, the letters were brought from Marcus Aurelius, the ambassador, and Marcus Valerius Lævinus, propretor. An embassy likewise arrived from the Athenians, to acquaint them that the king was approaching their frontiers, and that in a short time not only their lands, but their city also, must fall into his hands, unless they received aid from the Romans. When the consuls had made their report that the sacrifices had been duly performed, and that the gods had accepted their prayers; that the aruspices had declared that the entrails showed good omens, and that enlargement of territory, victory, and triumph were portended, the

letters of Valerius and Aurelius were read, and audience given to the ambassadors of the Athenians. After which a decree of the senate was passed, that thanks should be given to their allies, because, though long solicited, they had not been prevailed on, even by dread of a siege, to depart from their engagements. With regard to sending assistance to them, they resolved that an answer should be given as soon as the consuls should have cast lots for the provinces, and when the consul to whose lot Macedonia fell should have proposed to the people to declare war against Philip, king of the Macedonians.

6. The province of Macedonia fell by lot to Publius Sulpicius; and he proposed to the people to declare, 'that they chose and ordered, that on account of the injuries and hostilities committed against the allies of the Roman people, war should be proclaimed against king Philip and the Macedonians under his government.' The province of Italy fell to the lot of the other consul, Aurelius. The pretors then cast lots: to Cneius Sergius Plancus fell the city jurisdiction; to Quintus Fulvius Gillo, Sicily; to Quintus Minucius Rufus, Bruttium; and to Lucius Furius Purpureo, Gaul. At the first meeting of the people the proposal concerning the Macedonian war was rejected by almost all the tribes. This was occasioned partly by the people's own inclinations, who, wearied by the length and severity of the late war, longed to be freed from toils and dangers; and partly by Quintus Bæbius, tribune of the people, who, pursuing the old practice of criminating the patricians, charged them with multiplying wars one after another, so that the people could never enjoy peace. This proceeding gave great offence to the patricians, and the tribune was severely reprehended in the senate, where all earnestly recommended it to the consul to call a new assembly for passing the proposal; to rebuke the backwardness of the people; and to prove to them how highly detrimental and dishonorable it would be to decline engaging in that war.

7. The consul having assembled the people in the

field of Mars, before he called on the centuries to give their votes, required their attention, and addressed them thus :—‘ Citizens, you seem to me not to understand that the question before you is not whether you choose to have peace or war; for Philip, having already commenced hostilities with a formidable force, both on land and sea, allows you not that option. The question is, whether you choose to transport your legions to Macedonia, or to suffer the enemy to come into Italy? How important the difference is between these two cases, if you knew it not before, you have sufficiently learned in the late Punic war: for who entertains a doubt, but if, when the Saguntines were besieged, and implored our protection, we had assisted them with vigor, as our fathers did the Mamertines, we should have averted the whole weight of the war on Spain; which, by our dilatory proceedings, we suffered to our extreme loss to fall on Italy? Nor does it admit a doubt, that what confined this same Philip in Macedonia, (after he had entered into an engagement with Hannibal; by ambassadors and letters, to cross over into Italy,) was, our sending Lævinus with a fleet to carry the war home to him. And what we did at that time, when we had Hannibal to contend with in Italy, do we hesitate to do now, after Hannibal has been expelled Italy, and the Carthaginians subdued? Suppose for an instant that we allow the king to experience the same inactivity on our part, while he is taking Athens, as Hannibal found while he was taking Saguntum: it will not be in the fifth month, as the Carthaginian came from Saguntum, but on the fifth day after the Macedonian sets sail from Corinth, that he will arrive in Italy. Perhaps you may not consider Philip as equal to Hannibal, or the Macedonians to the Carthaginians: certainly, however, you will allow him equal to Pyrrhus. Equal, do I say? what a vast superiority has the one man over the other—the one nation over the other! Epirus ever was, and is at this day, deemed but an inconsiderable accession to the kingdom of Macedonia. Philip has

the intire Peloponnesus under his dominion ; even Argos itself, not more celebrated for its ancient glory than for the death of Pyrrhus. Now compare our situation. How much more flourishing was Italy when Pyrrhus attacked it ! How much greater its strength, possessing so many commanders, so many armies, which the Punic war afterwards consumed ! Yet was he able to give it a violent shock, and advanced victorious almost to the gates of Rome : and not the Tarentines only, and the inhabitants of that tract of Italy which they call the greater Greece, whom you may suppose to have been led by the similarity of language and name, but the Lucanian, the Brutian, and the Samnite revolted from us. Do you believe that these would continue quiet and faithful if Philip should come over to Italy, because they continued faithful afterwards, and during the Punic war ? Be assured those states will never fail to revolt from us, except when there is no one to whom they can go over. If you had disapproved of a Roman army passing into Africa, you would this day have had Hannibal and the Carthaginians to contend with in Italy. Let Macedonia, rather than Italy, be the seat of war. Let the cities and lands of the enemy be wasted with fire and sword. We have already found, by experience, that our arms are more powerful and more successful abroad than at home. Go, and give your voices with the blessing of the gods ; and what the senate have voted do you ratify by your order. This resolution is recommended to you, not only by your consul, but even by the immortal gods themselves ; who, when I offered sacrifice, and prayed that the issue of this war might be happy and prosperous to me and to the senate, to you and the allies and Latine confederates, granted every omen of success and happiness.’

8. After this speech of Sulpicius, being sent to give their votes, they declared for the war as he had proposed. On which, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, a supplication for three days was proclaimed by the consuls ; and prayers were offered to the gods at

all the shrines, that the war which the people had ordered against Philip might be attended with success and prosperity. The consul Sulpicius, inquiring of the heralds whether they would direct the declaration of the war against king Philip to be made to himself in person, or whether it would be sufficient to publish it in the nearest garrison within the frontiers of his kingdom, they answered that either would do. The consul received authority from the senate to send any person whom he thought proper, not being a senator, as ambassador, to denounce war against the king. They then proceeded to arrange the armies for the consuls and pretors. The consuls were ordered to levy two legions, and to disband the veteran troops. Sulpicius, to whom the management of this new and highly important war had been decreed, was allowed permission to carry with him as many volunteers as he could procure out of the army which Publius Scipio had brought home from Africa; but he was not empowered to compel any veteran soldier to attend him. They ordered that the consul should give to the pretors, Lucius Furius Purpureo and Quintus Minucius Rufus, five thousand of the allies of the Latine confederacy; with which forces they should hold, one, the province of Gaul, the other, Bruttium. Quintus Fulvius Gillo was ordered, in like manner, to select out of the army which Publius Ælius, late consul, had commanded, such as had been the shortest time in the service, until he also made up five thousand of the allies and Latine confederates, for guarding his province of Sicily. To Marcus Valerius Falto, who, during the former year, had held the province of Campania, as pretor, the command was continued for a year; in order that he might go over in quality of propretor to Sardinia, and choose out of the army there five thousand of the allies of the Latine confederacy, who also had been the shortest time in the service. The consuls were at the same time ordered to levy two legions for the city, which might be sent wherever occasion should require; as there were many states in Italy infected with an at-

tachment to the Carthaginians, which they had formed during the war, and in consequence, swelling with resentment. The state was to employ during that year six Roman legions.

9. In the midst of the preparations for war ambassadors came from king Ptolemy, with the following message:—that ‘the Athenians had petitioned the king for aid against Philip; but that although they were their common allies, yet the king would not, without the direction of the Roman people, send either fleet or army into Greece, for the purpose of defending or attacking any person: that he would remain quiet in his kingdom, if the Romans were at leisure to protect their allies; or, if more agreeable to them to be at rest, would himself send such aid as should effectually secure Athens against Philip.’ Thanks were returned to the king by the senate, and this answer:—that ‘it was the intention of the Roman people to protect their allies: that if they should have occasion for any assistance towards carrying on the war, they would acquaint the king; and that they were fully sensible that, in the power of his kingdom, their state had a sure and faithful resource.’ Presents were then, by order of the senate, sent to the ambassadors, of five thousand asses¹ to each. While the consuls were employed in levying troops, and making other necessary preparations, the people, prone to religious observances, especially at the beginning of new wars, after supplications had been already performed, and prayers offered up at all the shrines, lest any thing should be omitted that had ever been practised, ordered that the consul who was to have the province of Macedonia should vow games, and a present to Jove. Licinius, the chief pontiff, occasioned some delay in the performance of it, alleging that ‘he could not properly frame the vow, unless the money to discharge it were specified: for as the sum to be named could not be applied to the uses of the war, it should be immediately set apart, and not to be

¹ 16l. 2s. 1d.

intermixed with other money; and that, unless this were done, the vow could not be fulfilled.' Although the objection, and the person who proposed it, were both of weight, yet the consul was ordered to consult the college of pontiffs, whether a vow could not be undertaken without specifying the amount to discharge it? The pontiffs determined that it could; and that it would be even more in order to do it in that way. The consul, therefore, repeating after the chief pontiff, made the vow in the same words in which those made for five years of safety used to be expressed; only that he engaged to perform the games, and make the offerings, at such expense as the senate should direct by their vote, at the time when the vow was to be put in act. Before this the great games, so often vowed, were constantly rated at a certain expense: this was the first time that the sum was not specified.

10. While every one's attention was turned to the Macedonian war, and at a time when people apprehended nothing less, a sudden account was brought of an inroad made by the Gauls. The Insubrians, Cænonians, and Boians, having been joined by the Salyans, Ilvations, and other Ligurian states, and putting themselves under the command of Hamilcar, a Carthaginian, who, having been in the army of Hasdrubal, had remained in those parts, had fallen on Placentia; and, after plundering the city, and in their rage burning a great part of it, leaving scarcely two thousand men among the flames and ruins, passed the Po, and advanced to plunder Cremona. The news of the calamity, which had fallen on a city in their neighborhood, having reached thither, the inhabitants had time to shut their gates, and place guards on the walls, that they might at least try the event of a siege, and send messengers to the Roman pretor. Lucius Furius Purpureo, who had then the command of the province, had, in pursuance of the decree of the senate, disbanded the army, excepting five thousand of the allies and Latine confederates, and had halted with these troops in the nearest district of the province about

Ariminum. He immediately informed the senate, by letter, of the subsisting tumult: that, 'of the two colonies which had escaped the general wreck in the dreadful storm of the Punic war, one was taken and sacked by the present enemy, and the other besieged. Nor was his army capable of affording sufficient protection to the distressed colonists; unless he chose to expose five thousand allies to be slaughtered by forty thousand invaders (for so many there were in arms); and by such a loss, on his side, to augment their courage, already elated on having destroyed one Roman colony.'

11. On reading this letter it was decreed, that the consul Aurelius should order the army which he had appointed to assemble on a certain day in Etruria to attend him on the same day at Ariminum; and should either go in person, if the public business would permit, to suppress the tumult of the Gauls, or write to the pretor Lucius Furius, that, as soon as the legions from Etruria came to him, he should send five thousand of the allies to guard that place in the mean time, and should himself proceed to relieve the colony from the siege. It was also decreed that ambassadors should be sent to Carthage, and also into Numidia to Masinissa: to Carthage, to tell that people that 'their countryman, Hamilcar, having been left in Gaul, (either with a part of the army formerly commanded by Hasdrubal, or with that of Mago—they did not with certainty know which,) was waging war, contrary to the treaty: that he had raised forces from among the Gauls and Ligurians, and persuaded them to take arms against Rome: that, if they chose a continuance of peace, they must recall him, and give him up to the Roman people.' They were ordered at the same time to tell them, that 'all the deserters had not been produced; that a great part of them were said to appear openly in Carthage, who ought to be sought after, and surrendered according to the treaty.' This was the message they were to deliver to the Carthaginians. To Masinissa they were charged with congratulations, on his 'having

not only recovered the kingdom of his father, but enlarged it by the acquisition of the most flourishing parts of Syphax's territories.' They were ordered also to acquaint him, that 'the Romans had entered into a war against Philip, because he had given aid to the Carthaginians, while, by the injuries which he offered to the allies of the Roman people, he had obliged them to send fleets and armies into Greece, at a time when the flames of war spread over all Italy; and that by thus making them separate their forces, had been the principal cause of their being so late in passing over to Africa: and to request him to send some Numidian horsemen to assist in that war.' Ample presents were given them to be carried to the king; vases of gold and silver, a purple robe, and a tunic adorned with palms of purple, an ivory sceptre, and a robe of state, with a curule chair. They were also directed to assure him, that if he deemed any thing farther requisite to confirm and enlarge his kingdom, the Roman people, in return for his good services, would exert their utmost zeal to effect it. At this time, too, the senate was addressed by ambassadors from Vermina, son of Syphax, apologising for his mistaken conduct, on account of his youth and want of judgment, and throwing all the blame on the deceitful policy of the Carthaginians: adding, that as Masinissa had from an enemy become a friend to the Romans, so Vermina would also use his best endeavors that he should not be outdone in offices of friendship to the Roman people, either by Masinissa or by any other; and requesting that he might receive from the senate the title of king, friend, and ally.' The answer given to these ambassadors was, that 'not only his father Syphax, from a friend and ally, had on a sudden, without any reason, become an enemy to the Roman people, but that he himself had made his first essay of manhood in bearing arms against them. He must therefore sue to the Roman people for peace before he could expect to be acknowledged king, ally, and friend: that it was the practice of that people to bestow the honor of such title in re-

turn for great services performed by kings towards them: that the Roman ambassadors would soon be in Africa, to whom the senate would give instructions to regulate conditions of peace with Vermina, as he should submit the terms intirely to the will of the Roman people; and that, if he wished that any thing should be added, left out, or altered, he must make a second application to the senate.' The ambassadors sent to Africa on those affairs were Caius Terentius Varro, Publius Lucretius, and Cneius Octavius, each of whom had a quinquereme assigned him.

12. A letter was then read in the senate from Quintus Minucius, the pretor, who held the province of Bruttium, that 'the money had been privately carried off by night out of the treasury of Proserpine at Locri; and that there were no traces which could direct to the discovery of the guilty persons.' The senate was highly incensed at finding that the practice of sacrilege continued, and that even the fate of Pleminius, an example so recent and so conspicuous both of the guilt and of the punishment, did not deter from it. They ordered the consul, Cneius Aurelius, to signify to the pretor in Bruttium, that 'it was the pleasure of the senate that an inquiry be made concerning the robbery of the treasury, according to the method used by Marcus Pomponius, pretor, three years before; that the money which could be discovered should be restored, and any deficiency be made up; and that, if he thought proper, atonements should be made for the purpose of expiating the violation of the temple, in the manner formerly prescribed by the pontiffs.' At the same time also, accounts were brought of many prodigies happening in several places. It was said, that in Lucania the sky had been seen in a blaze; that at Privernum, in clear weather, the sun had been of a red color during a whole day; that at Lanuvium, in the temple of Juno Sospita, a very loud bustling noise had been heard in the night. Besides, monstrous births of animals were related to have occurred in many places: in the country of the Sabines an infant was born whose sex could

not be distinguished ; and another was found sixteen years old, whose sex also was doubtful. At Frusino a lamb was born with a swine's head ; at Sinuessa, a pig with a human head ; and in Lucania, in the land belonging to the state, a foal with five feet. All these were considered as horrid and abominable, and as if Nature were straying from her course in confounding the different species. Above all, the people were particularly shocked at the hermaphrodites, which were ordered to be immediately thrown into the sea, as had been lately done with a production of the same monstrous kind, in the consulate of Caius Claudius and Marcus Livius. Not satisfied with this, they ordered the decemvirs to inspect the books in regard of that prodigy ; and the decemvirs, from the books, directed the same religious ceremonies which had been performed on an occasion of the same kind. They ordered, besides, a hymn to be sung through the city by thrice nine virgins, and an offering to be made to imperial Juno. The consul, Caius Aurelius, took care that all these matters were performed according to the direction of the decemvirs. The hymn was composed by Publius Licinius Tegula, as a similar one had been, in the memory of their fathers, by Livius.

13. All religious scruples were fully removed by expiations : at Locri, too, the affair of the sacrilege had been thoroughly investigated by Quintus Minucius, and the money replaced in the treasury out of the effects of the guilty. When the consuls wished to set out to their provinces, a number of private persons, to whom the third payment became due that year, of the money which they had lent to the public in the consulate of Marcus Valerius and Marcus Claudius, applied to the senate. The consuls, however, having declared that the treasury being scarcely sufficient for the exigences of a new war, in which a great fleet and great armies must be employed, there were no means of paying them at present. The senate could not avoid being affected by their complaints, in which they alleged, that ' if the state intended to use, for the pur-

pose of the Macedonian war, the money which had been lent for the Punic war, as one war constantly arose after another, what would be the issue, but that, in return for their kind assistance to the public, their property would be confiscated, as if they had been guilty of some crime?' The demands of the private creditors being equitable, and the state being in no capacity of discharging the debt, they determined to pursue a middle course between equity and convenience; and accordingly they decreed, that 'whereas many of them mentioned that lands were frequently exposed to sale, and that they themselves wished to become purchasers; they should therefore have liberty to purchase any belonging to the public, and which lay within fifty miles of the city. That the consuls should make a valuation of these, and impose on each acre a quit-rent of one *as*, as an acknowledgement that the land was the property of the public, in order that when the people should become able to pay, if any one chose rather to have the money than the land, he might restore it.' The private creditors accepted the terms with joy; and that land was called *Trientius* and *Tabulius*, because it was given in lieu of the third part of their money.

14. *Publius Sulpicius*, after making his vows in the capitol, set out from the city in his robes of war, attended by his lictors, and arrived at *Brundisium*; where, having formed into legions the veteran soldiers of the African army who were willing to follow him, and chosen his number of ships out of the fleet of the late consul, *Cornelius*, he set sail, and next day arrived in *Macedonia*. There he was met by ambassadors from the Athenians, intreating him to relieve their city from the siege. Immediately *Caius Claudius Centho* was despatched to Athens, with twenty ships of war and a small body of land forces: for it was not the king himself who carried on the siege of Athens; he was at that time intently occupied in besieging *Abydus*, after having tried his strength at sea against *Attalus*, and against the *Rhodians*, without

meeting success in either engagement. But, besides the natural presumptuousness of his temper, he acquired confidence from a treaty which he had formed with Antiochus, king of Syria, in which they had divided the wealth of Egypt between them; an object which, on hearing of the death of Ptolemy, they were both eager to secure. As to the Athenians, they had entangled themselves in a war with Philip on too trifling an occasion, and at a time when they retained nothing of their ancient dignity but pride. During the celebration of the mysteries, two young men of Acarnania, who were not initiated, unapprised of its being an offence against religion, entered the temple of Ceres along with the rest of the crowd: their discourse quickly betrayed them, by their asking questions which discovered their ignorance; whereon, being carried before the presidents of the temple, although it was evident that they went in through mistake, yet they were put to death, as if for a heinous crime. The Acarnanian nation made complaint to Philip of this barbarous and hostile act, and prevailed on him to grant them some aid of Macedonian soldiers, and to allow them to make war on the Athenians. At first this army, after ravaging the lands of Attica with fire and sword, retired to Acarnania with booty of all kinds. This was the first provocation to hostilities. The Athenians afterwards, on their side, entered into a regular war, and proclaimed it by order of the state: for king Attalus and the Rhodians, having come to Ægina in pursuit of Philip, who was retiring to Macedonia, the king crossed over to Piræus, for the purpose of renewing and strengthening the alliance between him and the Athenians. On entering the city he was received by the whole inhabitants, who poured forth with their wives and children to meet him; by the priests, with their emblems of religion; and in a manner by the gods themselves, called forth from their abodes.

15. Immediately the people were summoned to an assembly, that the king might treat with them in person on such subjects as he chose; but afterwards it

was judged more suitable to his dignity to explain his sentiments in writing than, being present, to be forced to blush, either at the recital of his extraordinary favors to the state, or at the immoderate applause of the multitude, which would overwhelm his modesty with acclamations and other signs of approbation. In the letter which he sent, and which was read to the assembly, was contained, first, a recapitulation of the several acts of kindness which he had shown to the Athenian state, as his ally; then, of the actions which he had performed against Philip; and lastly, an exhortation to 'enter immediately on the war, while they had him, (Attalus,) the Rhodians, and the Romans also, to assist them:' not omitting to warn them, that 'if they were backward now, they would hereafter wish in vain for the opportunity which they neglected.' They then gave audience to the ambassadors of the Rhodians, to whom they were under a recent obligation for having retaken and sent home four of their ships of war, which had been lately seized by the Macedonians. War was determined on against Philip with universal consent. Unbounded honors were conferred on king Attalus, and then on the Rhodians. At that time mention was made of adding a tribe, which they were to call Attalis, to the ten ancient tribes; the Rhodian state was presented with a golden crown, as an acknowledgement of its bravery, and the inhabitants with the freedom of Athens, in like manner as Rhodes had formerly honored that people. After this, king Attalus returned to Ægina, where his fleet lay. From Ægina the Rhodians sailed to Cia, and thence to Rhodes, steering their course among the islands, all of which they brought to join in the alliance, except Andros, Paros, and Cythnus, which were held by Macedonian garrisons. Attalus, having sent messengers to Ætolia, and expecting ambassadors from thence, was detained at Ægina for some time in a state of inaction; failing also in his endeavors to excite the Ætolians to arms, for they were rejoiced at having made peace with Macedon on any terms. Had Attalus

and the Rhodians pressed Philip vigorously, they might have acquired the illustrious title of the deliverers of Greece; but by suffering him to pass over again into Hellespontus, and to strengthen himself by seizing the advantageous posts in Greece, they increased the difficulties of the war, and yielded up to the Romans the glory of having conducted and finished it.

16. Philip acted with a spirit more becoming a king; for, though he had found himself unequal to the forces of Attalus and the Rhodians, yet he was not dismayed, even by the prospect of an approaching war with the Romans. Sending Philocles, one of his generals, with two thousand foot and two hundred horse to ravage the lands of the Athenians, he gave the command of his fleet to Heraclides, with orders to sail to Maronea, and marched thither himself by land; with two thousand foot lightly equipped, and two hundred horse. Maronea he took at the first assault; and, afterwards, with a good deal of trouble, got possession of Ænus, which was at last betrayed to him by Ganymede, who commanded there for Ptolemy. He then seized on other forts, Cypselus, Doriscos, and Serrheus; and, advancing from thence to the Chersonesus, received Elæus and Alopeconnesus, which were surrendered by the inhabitants. Callipolis also and Madytos were given up to him, with several forts of but little consequence. The people of Abydus shut their gates against him, not suffering even his ambassadors to enter the place. The siege of this city detained Philip a long time; and it might have been relieved, if Attalus and the Rhodians had acted with any vigor. The king sent only three hundred men for a garrison, and the Rhodians one quadrireme from their fleet, although it was lying idle at Tenedos: and afterwards, when the besieged could with difficulty hold out any longer, Attalus, going over in person, did nothing more than show them some hope of relief being near, giving not any real assistance to these his allies either by land or sea.

17. At first the people of Abydus, by means of

engines placed along the walls, not only prevented the approaches by land, but annoyed the enemy's ships in their station. Afterwards a part of the wall being thrown down, and the assailants having penetrated by mines to an inner wall, which had been hastily raised to oppose their entrance, the besieged sent ambassadors to the king to treat of terms of capitulation. They demanded permission to send away the Rhodian quadrireme, with the crew and the troops of Attalus in the garrison; and that they themselves might depart from the city, each with one suit of apparel; but Philip's answer afforded no hopes of accommodation, unless they surrendered at discretion. When this was reported by their ambassadors, it so exasperated them, rousing at the same time their indignation and despair, that, seized with the same kind of fury which had possessed the Saguntines, they ordered all the matrons to be shut up in the temple of Diana, and the free-born youths and virgins, and even the infants with their nurses, in the place of exercise; the gold and silver to be carried into the forum; their valuable garments to be put on board the Rhodian ship, and another from Cyzicum, which lay in the harbor; the priests and victims to be brought, and altars to be erected in the midst. There they appointed a select number, who, as soon as they should see the army of their friends cut off in defending the breach, were instantly to slay their wives and children; to throw into the sea the gold, silver, and apparel that was on board the ships, and to set fire to the buildings, public and private: and to the performance of this deed they were bound by an oath, the priests repeating before them the verses of execration. Those who were of an age capable of fighting then swore to continue the battle till they fell, unless victorious. These, regardless of the gods by whom they had sworn, maintained their ground with such obstinacy, that although the night would soon have put a stop to the fight, yet the king, terrified by their fury, first drew off his forces. The chief inhabitants, to whom the more shocking

part of the plan had been given in charge, seeing that few survived the battle, and that these were exhausted by fatigue and wounds, sent the priests (having their heads bound with the fillets of suppliants) at the dawn of the next day to surrender the city to Philip.

18. Before the surrender, one of the Roman ambassadors who had been sent to Alexandria, Marcus Æmilius, being the youngest of them, in pursuance of a resolution which the three had jointly formed, on hearing of the present siege, came to Philip, and complained of his having made war on Attalus and the Rhodians; and particularly of the attack on Abydus, in which he was then employed: and on Philip's saying that he had been forced into the war by Attalus and the Rhodians commencing hostilities against him, — 'Did the people of Abydus, too,' said he, 'commence hostilities against you?' To him, who was unaccustomed to hear truth, this language seemed too arrogant to be used to a king, and he answered, — 'Your youth, the beauty of your form, and, above all, the name of Roman, render you too presumptuous. However, my first desire is, that you would observe the treaties, and continue in peace with me; but if you begin an attack, I am, on my part, determined to prove that the kingdom and name of the Macedonians is not less formidable in war than that of the Romans.' Having dismissed the ambassadors in this manner, Philip got possession of the gold and silver which had been thrown together in a heap, but was disappointed of his booty with respect to prisoners: for such violent frenzy had seized the multitude, that, on a sudden, taking up a persuasion that they were guilty of treachery towards those who had fallen in the battle, and upbraiding one another with perjury, especially the priests, who would surrender alive to the enemy those persons whom they themselves had devoted, they all at once ran different ways to put their wives and children to death; and then they put an end to their own lives by every possible method. The king, astonished at their madness, restrained the violence of his

soldiers, and said, 'that he would allow the people of Abydus three days to die in;' and, during this space, the vanquished perpetrated more deeds of cruelty on themselves, than the enraged conquerors would have committed; nor did any one of them come into the enemy's hands alive, except such as were in chains, or under some other insuperable restraint. Philip, leaving a garrison in Abydus, returned to his kingdom; and, just when he had been encouraged by the destruction of the people of Abydus, to proceed in the war against Rome, as Hannibal had been by the destruction of Saguntum, he was met by couriers, with intelligence that the consul was already in Epirus, and had drawn his land forces to Apollonia, and his fleet to Corcyra, into winter quarters.

19. In the mean time the ambassadors who had been sent into Africa, on the affair of Hamilcar, the leader of the Gallic army, received from the Carthaginians this answer: that 'it was not in their power to do more than to inflict on him the punishment of exile, and to confiscate his effects; that they had delivered up all the deserters and fugitives, whom, on a diligent inquiry, they had been able to discover, and would send ambassadors to Rome, to satisfy the senate on that head.' They sent two hundred thousand measures of wheat to Rome, and the same quantity to the army in Macedonia. From thence the ambassadors proceeded into Numidia, to the kings; delivered to Masinissa the presents and the message according to their instructions, and out of two thousand Numidian horsemen which he offered, accepted one thousand. Masinissa superintended in person the embarkation of these, and sent them, with two hundred thousand measures of wheat, and the same quantity of barley, into Macedonia. The third commission which they had to execute was with Vermina. He advanced to meet them, as far as the utmost limits of his kingdom, and left it to themselves to prescribe such conditions of peace as they thought proper, declaring that 'he should consider any peace with the Roman people as

just and advantageous.' The terms were then settled, and he was ordered to send ambassadors to Rome to procure a ratification of the treaty.

20. About the same time Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, proconsul, came home from Spain; and having laid before the senate an account of his brave and successful conduct, during the course of many years, demanded that he might be allowed to enter the city in triumph. The senate, on this, gave their opinion, that 'his services were, indeed, deserving of a triumph; but that they had no precedent left them by their ancestors, of any person enjoying a triumph, who was not, at the time of performing the service, on account of which he claimed that honor, either dictator, consul, or pretor; that he had held the province of Spain in quality of proconsul, and not of consul, or pretor.' They determined however that he might enter the city in ovation. Against this Tiberius Sempronius Longus, tribune of the people, protested, alleging, that such proceedings would be no less unprecedented, and contrary to the practice of their ancestors, than the other; but, overcome at length by the unanimous desire of the senate, the tribune withdrew his opposition, and Lucius Lentulus entered the city in ovation. He carried to the treasury forty-four thousand pounds weight of silver, and two thousand four hundred pounds weight of gold. To each of the soldiers he distributed, of the spoil, one hundred and twenty asses.¹

21. The consular army had by this time removed from Arretium to Ariminum, and the five thousand Latine confederates had gone from Gaul into Etruria. Lucius Furius therefore advanced from Ariminum, by forced marches, against the Gauls, who were then besieging Cremona, and pitched his camp at the distance of one mile and a half from the enemy. Furius had an excellent opportunity of striking an important blow, had he, without halting, led his troops directly to attack their camp; they were scattered and dispersed through

¹ 7s. 9d.

the country; and the guard, which they had left, was very insufficient; but he was apprehensive that his men were too much fatigued by their hasty march. The Gauls, recalled from the fields by the shouts of their party, returned to the camp without seizing the booty within their reach, and, next day, marched out to offer battle; the Roman did not decline the combat, but had scarcely time to make the necessary dispositions, so rapidly did the enemy advance to the fight. The right brigade (for he had the troops of the allies divided into brigades) was placed in the first line, the two Roman legions in reserve. Marcus Furius was at the head of the right brigade, Marcus Cæcilius of the legions, and Lucius Valerius Flaccus of the cavalry: these were all lieutenants-general. Two other lieutenants-general, Cneius Lætorius and Publius Titinnius, the pretor kept near himself, that, with their assistance, he might observe, and take proper measures against any sudden attack. At first, the Gauls, bending their whole force to one point, were in hopes of being able to overwhelm, and trample under foot, the right brigade, which was in the van; but not succeeding, they endeavored to turn round the flanks, and to surround their enemy's line, which, considering the multitude of their forces, and the small number of the others, seemed easy to be done. On observing this, the pretor, in order to extend his own line, brought up the two legions from the reserve, and placed them on the right and left of the brigade which was engaged in the van; vowing a temple to Jupiter, if he should on that day prove victorious. To Lucius Valerius he gave orders to make the horsemen of the two legions on one flank, and the cavalry of the allies on the other, charge the wings of the enemy, and not suffer them to come round to his rear. At the same time, observing that the centre of their line was weakened, from having extended the wings, he directed his men to make an attack there in close order, and to break through their ranks. The wings were routed by the cavalry, and, at the same time, the centre by the foot. Being worsted in all

parts with great slaughter, the Gauls quickly turned their backs, and fled to their camp in hurry and confusion. The cavalry pursued them; and the legions, coming up in a short time after, assaulted the camp, from whence there did not escape so many as six thousand men. There were slain and taken above thirty-five thousand, with eighty standards, and above two hundred Gallic waggons laden with booty of all kinds. Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, fell that day, and three distinguished generals of the Gauls. The prisoners taken at Placentia, to the number of two thousand free men, were restored to the colony.

22. This was an important victory, and caused great joy at Rome. On receipt of the pretor's letter, a supplication for three days was decreed. In that battle there fell of the Romans and allies two thousand, most of them in the right brigade, against which, in the first onset, the most violent efforts of the enemy had been directed. Although the pretor had brought the war almost to a conclusion, yet the consul, Cneius Aurelius, having finished the business which required his attendance at Rome, set out for Gaul, and received the victorious army from the pretor. The other consul arriving in his province towards the end of autumn, passed the winter in the neighborhood of Apollonia. Caius Claudius, and the Roman triremes which had been sent to Athens from the fleet that was laid up at Corcyra, as was mentioned above, arriving at Piræus, greatly revived the hopes of their allies, who were beginning to give way to despair. Their arrival not only put a stop to the inroads by land, which used to be made from Corinth through Megara, but so terrified the pirates from Chalcis, who had been accustomed to infest both the Athenian sea and coast, that they dared not venture round the promontory of Sunium, nor even trust themselves out of the straits of the Euripus. In addition to these came three quadriremes from Rhodes, the Athenians having three open ships, which they had equipped for the protection of their lands on the coast. While Claudius thought, that if he were able with his

fleet to give security to the Athenians, it was as much as could be expected at present. Fortune threw in his way an opportunity of accomplishing an enterprise of greater moment.

23. Some exiles driven from Chalcis, by ill treatment received from the king's party, brought intelligence that the place might be taken without even a contest; for the Macedonians, being under no immediate apprehension from an enemy, were straying idly about the country; and the townsmen, depending on the Macedonian garrison, neglected the guard of the city. Claudius, in consequence of this, set out, and though he arrived at Sunium early enough to have sailed forward to the entrance of the strait of Eubœa, yet fearing that, on doubling the promontory, he might be descried by the enemy, he lay by with the fleet until night. As soon as it grew dark he began to move, and favored by a calm, arrived at Chalcis a little before day; and then, approaching the city, on a side where it was thinly inhabited, with a small party of soldiers, and by means of scaling ladders, he got possession of the nearest tower, and the wall on each side. Finding in some places the guards asleep, and other parts left without any watch, they advanced to the more populous parts of the town, and having slain the sentinels, and broke open a gate, they gave an entrance to the main body of the troops. These immediately spread themselves through all parts of the city, and increased the tumult by setting fire to the buildings round the forum, by which means both the granaries belonging to the king, and his armory, with a vast store of machines and engines, were reduced to ashes. Then commenced a general slaughter of those who fled, as well as of those who made resistance; and after having either put to the sword or driven out every one who was of an age fit to bear arms, (Sopater also, the Acarnanian, who commanded the garrison, being slain,) they first collected all the spoils in the forum, and then carried it on board the ships. The prison, too, was forced open by the Rhodians, and those whom Philip

had shut up there were set at liberty. They next pulled down and mutilated the statues of the king; and then, on a signal being given for a retreat, reembarked and returned to Piræus, from whence they had set out. If there had been a sufficient number of Roman soldiers to have kept possession of Chalcis, without stripping Athens of a proper garrison, that city and the command of the Euripus would have been a most important advantage at the commencement of the war; for as the pass of Thermopylæ is the principal barrier of Greece by land, so is the strait of the Euripus by sea.

24. Philip was then at Demetrias, and as soon as the news arrived there of the calamity which had befallen the city of his allies, although it was too late to carry assistance to those who were already ruined, yet anxious to accomplish what was next to assistance, revenge, he set out instantly with five thousand foot lightly equipped, and three hundred horse. With a speed almost equal to that of racing, he hastened to Chalcis, not doubting but that he should be able to surprise the Romans. Finding himself disappointed, and that his coming answered no other end than to give him a melancholy view of the smoking ruins of that friendly city, (so few being left, that they were scarcely sufficient to bury those who had fallen by the sword of the enemy,) with the same rapid haste which he had used in coming, he crossed the Euripus by the bridge, and led his troops through Bœotia to Athens, in hopes that a similar attempt might be attended by a similar issue: and he would have succeeded, had not a scout (one of those whom the Greeks call day-runners,¹ because they run through a journey of great length in one day), decrying from his post of observation the king's army in its march, set out at midnight, and arrived before them at Athens. The same sleep, and the same negligence, prevailed there which had proved the ruin of Chalcis a few days before. Roused, however, by the alarming intelligence, the pretor of the Athenians, and Dioxip-

¹ Hemerodromoi.

pus, commander of a cohort of mercenary auxiliaries, called the soldiers together in the forum, and ordered the trumpets to sound an alarm from the citadel, that all might be informed of the approach of the enemy. On which the people ran from all quarters to the gates, and afterwards to the walls. In a few hours after, and still some time before day, Philip approached the city, and observing a great number of lights, and hearing the noise of the men hurrying to and fro, as usual on such an alarm, he halted his troops, and ordered them to sit down and take some rest; resolving to use open force, since his design of surprise had not succeeded. Accordingly he advanced on the side of Dipylos, or the double gate, which being the principal entrance of the city, is somewhat larger and wider than the rest. Both within and without the streets are wide, so that the townsmen could form their troops from the forum to the gate, while on the outside, a road of about a mile in length, leading to the school of the academy, afforded open room to the foot and horse of the enemy. The Athenians, who had formed their troops within the gate, marched out with Attalus' garrison, and the cohort of Dioxippus, along that road. This Philip observed, and thinking that he had the enemy in his power, and might now satisfy his revenge in their destruction, and which he had long wished for, (being more intensed against them than any of the Grecian states,) he exhorted his men to keep their eyes on him during the fight, and to take notice, that wherever the king was, there the standards and the army ought to be. He then spurred on his horse, animated not only with resentment, but with a desire of gaining honor, reckoning it a glorious opportunity of displaying his prowess in the view of an immense crowd which covered the walls, many of them for the purpose of beholding the engagement. Advancing far before the line, and with a small body of horse, rushing into the midst of the enemy, he inspired his men with great ardor, and the Athenians with terror. Having wounded many with his own hand, both in close fight and with

missive weapons, and driven them back within the gate, he still pursued them closely; and having made greater slaughter among them while embarrassed in the narrow pass, rash as the attempt was, he yet retired unmolested; because those who were in the towers withheld their weapons lest they should hit their friends who were mingled in confusion among their enemies. The Athenians, after this, confining their troops within the walls, Philip sounded a retreat, and pitched his camp at Cynosarges, a temple of Hercules, and a school surrounded by a grove. But Cynosarges, and Lycæum, and whatever was sacred or pleasant in the neighborhood of the city, he burned to the ground, and levelled not only the houses, but sepulchres, paying no regard, in the violence of his rage, to any privilege either of men or gods.

25. Next day, the gates having at first been shut, and afterwards suddenly thrown open, in consequence of a body of Attalus' troops from Ægina, and the Romans from Piræus, having entered the city, the king removed his camp to the distance of about three miles. From thence he proceeded to Eleusis, in hopes of surprising the temple, and a fort which overlooks and surrounds it; but, finding that the guards were attentive, and that the fleet was coming from Piræus to support them, he laid aside the design, and led his troops, first to Megara, and then to Corinth; where, on hearing that the council of the Achæans was then sitting at Argos, he went and joined the assembly, to the surprise of that people. They were at the time employed in forming measures for a war against Nabis, tyrant of the Lacedæmonians; who (observing, on the command being transferred from Philopœmen to Cyliades, a general much inferior to him, that the confederates of the Achæans were falling off,) had renewed the war, and besides ravaging the territories of his neighbors, was become formidable even to the cities. While they were deliberating what number of men should be raised out of each of the states to oppose this enemy, Philip promised that he would re-

lieve them from all anxiety, as far as concerned Nabis and the Lacedæmonians; and that he would not only secure the lands of their allies from devastation, but transfer the whole terror of the war on Laconia itself, by leading his army thither instantly. This discourse being received with general approbation, he added: 'It is but reasonable, however, that while I am employed in protecting your property by my arms, my own should not be exposed without defence; therefore, if you think proper, provide such a number of troops as will be sufficient to secure Orcus, Chalcis, and Corinth; that my affairs, being in a state of safety behind me, I may proceed, without distraction, to attack Nabis and the Lacedæmonians.' The Achæans were not ignorant of the tendency of these kind promises, and his offer of assistance against the Lacedæmonians, and that his view was to draw the Achæan youth out of Peloponnesus as hostages, that he might have it in his power to embroil the nation in a war with the Romans. Cyliades, pretor, thinking that it would answer no purpose to expose his scheme by argument, said nothing more than that it was not allowable, according to the laws of the Achæans; to take any matter into consideration except that on which they had been called together; and the decree for levying an army against Nabis being passed, he dismissed the assembly, after having presided in it with much resolution and public spirit, although, until that day, he had been reckoned a partizan of the king. Philip, grievously disappointed, after having collected a few voluntary soldiers, returned to Corinth, and from thence into the territories of Athens.

26. While Philip was in Achaia, Philocles, one of the generals, marching from Eubœa with two thousand Thracians and Macedonians, intending to lay waste the territories of the Athenians, crossed the forest of Cithæron opposite to Eleusis. Despatching half of his troops to make depredations in all parts of the country, he lay concealed with the remainder in a place convenient for an ambush; in order that if any attack

should be made from the fort at Eleusis on his men employed in plundering, he might suddenly fall on the enemy unawares, and while they were in disorder. His stratagem did not escape discovery: wherefore, calling back the soldiers, who had gone different ways in pursuit of booty, and drawing them up in order, he advanced to assault the fort at Eleusis; but being repulsed from thence with many wounds, he joined Philip on his return from Achaia, who was also induced to a similar attempt: but the Roman ships coming from Piræus, and a body of forces being thrown into the fort, he was compelled to relinquish the design. On this the king, dividing his army, sent Philocles with one part to Athens, and went himself with the other to Piræus; that while his general, by advancing to the walls and threatening an assault, should keep the Athenians within the city, he might be able to make himself master of the harbor, which he supposed would be left with only a slight garrison. But he found the attack of Piræus no less difficult than that of Eleusis, the same persons acting in its defence. He therefore hastily led his troops to Athens, and being repulsed by a sudden sally of both foot and horse, who engaged him in the narrow ground, inclosed by the half-ruined wall, which, with two arms, joins Piræus to Athens, he laid aside the scheme of attacking the city, and, dividing his forces again with Philocles, set out to complete the devastation of the country. As, in his former ravages, he had employed himself in levelling the sepulchres round the city, so now, not to leave any thing unviolated, he ordered the temples of the gods, of which they had one consecrated in every village, to be demolished and burned. The country of Attica afforded ample matter for the exercise of this barbarous rage; for it was highly embellished with works of that kind, having plenty of marble, and abounding with artists of exquisite ingenuity. Nor was he satisfied with merely destroying the temples themselves, and overthrowing the images, but he ordered even the stones to be broken, lest,

remaining whole, they should give a degree of grandeur to the ruins; and then, his rage not being satiated, but no object remaining on which it could be exercised, he retired into Bœotia, without having performed in Greece any thing else worth mention.

27. The consul, Sulpicius, who was at that time encamped on the river Apsus, between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, having ordered Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, thither, sent him with part of the forces to lay waste the enemy's country. Apustius, after ravaging the frontiers of Macedonia, and having, at the first assault, taken the forts of Corragos, Gerrunios, and Orgessos, came to Antipatria, a city situated in a narrow vale; where, at first inviting the leading men to a conference, he endeavored to prevail on them to put themselves under the protection of the Romans; but finding that from confidence in the size, fortifications, and situation of their city, they paid no regard to his discourse, he attacked the place by force of arms, and took it by assault: then, putting all the young men to the sword, and giving up the intire spoil to his soldiers, he rased the walls, and burned the buildings. This proceeding spread such terror, that Codrion, a strong and well fortified town, surrendered to the Romans without a struggle. Leaving a garrison there, he took Ilion by force, a name better known than the town, on account of that of the same denomination in Asia. As the lieutenant-general was returning to the consul with a great quantity of spoil, Athenagoras, one of the king's generals, falling on his rear, in its passage over a river, threw it into disorder. On hearing the shouting and tumult, Apustius rode back in full speed, ordered the troops to face about, and drew them up in order, with the baggage in the centre. The king's troops could not support the onset of the Roman soldiers: so that many of them were slain, and more made prisoners. The lieutenant-general, having brought back the army without loss to the consul, was ordered to return immediately to the fleet.

28. The war commencing thus brilliantly with this successful expedition, several petty kings and princes, whose dominions bordered on Macedonia, came to the Roman camp: Pleuratus, son of Scerdilædus and Amynder, king of the Athamanians; and from the Dardanians, Bato, son of Longarus. This Longarus had in his own quarrel supported a war against Demetrius, father of Philip. To their offers of aid, the consul answered that he would make use of the assistance of the Dardanians and of Pleuratus, when he should lead his troops into Macedonia. To Amynder he allotted the part of exciting the Ætolians to war. To the ambassadors of Attalus (for they also had come at the same time) he gave directions that the king should wait at Ægina, where he wintered, for the arrival of the Roman fleet; and when joined by that, he should, as before, harass Philip by such enterprises as he could undertake by sea. To the Rhodians, also, an embassy was sent, to engage them to contribute their share towards carrying on the war. Nor was Philip, who had by this time arrived in Macedonia, remiss in his preparations for the campaign. He sent his son Perseus, then very young, with part of his forces to block up the pass near Pelagonia, appointing persons out of the number of his friends to attend him, and direct his unexperienced age. Sciathus and Peparethus, no inconsiderable cities, he demolished, fearing they might fall a prey to the enemy's fleet; despatching at the same time ambassadors to the Ætolians, lest that restless nation might change sides on the arrival of the Romans.

29. The assembly of the Ætolians, which they call Panætolum, was to meet on a certain day. In order to be present at this, the king's ambassadors hastened their journey, and Lucius Furius Purpureo also arrived, being sent in like capacity by the consul. Ambassadors from Athens, likewise, came to this assembly. The Macedonians were first heard, as with them the latest treaty had been made; and they declared

that, 'as no change of circumstances had occurred, they had nothing new to introduce; for the same reasons which had induced the Ætolians to make peace with Philip, after experiencing the unprofitableness of an alliance with the Romans, should engage them to preserve it, now that it was established. Do you rather choose,' said one of the ambassadors, 'to imitate the inconsistency, or levity, shall I call it, of the Romans, who ordered this answer to be given to your ambassadors at Rome: 'Why, Ætolians, do you apply to us, when, without our approbation, you have made peace with Philip?' Yet these same people now require that you should, in conjunction with them, wage war against Philip. Formerly, too, it was pretended that they took arms on your account, and in your defence against Philip: now they do not allow you to continue at peace with him. To assist Messana, they first embarked for Sicily; and a second time to vindicate the liberty of Syracuse, oppressed by the Carthaginians. Both Messana, and Syracuse, and all Sicily, they hold in their own possession, and have reduced it into a tributary province under their axes and rods. You imagine, perhaps, that in the same manner as you hold an assembly at Naupactus, according to your own laws, under magistrates of your own appointment, at liberty to choose allies and enemies, and to have peace or war at your own option, so the assembly of the states of Sicily is summoned to Syracuse, or Messana, or Lilybæum. No; a Roman pretor presides at the meeting; at his command they assemble; they behold him, attended by his lictors, seated on a lofty throne, issuing his haughty edicts. His rods are ready for their backs, his axes for their necks, and every year they are allotted a different master. Neither ought they, nor can they wonder at this, when they see all the cities of Italy bending under the same yoke,—Rhegium, Tarentum, Capua, not to mention those in their own neighborhood, out of the ruins of which their city of Rome grew into power. Capua indeed subsists, the grave and monument of the

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Campanian people, who were either cut off or driven into banishment; the mutilated carcass of a city, without senate, without commons, without magistrates; a sort of prodigy, the leaving which to be inhabited in this manner showed more cruelty than if it had been rased to the ground. If foreigners who are separated from us to a greater distance by their language, manners, and laws, than by the length of sea and land, are allowed to get footing here, it is madness to hope that any thing will continue in its present state. Does your liberty appear to be in any degree of danger from the government of Philip, who at a time when he was justly incensed, demanded nothing more of you than peace; and at present requires no more than the observance of the peace which he agreed to? Accustom foreign legions to these countries, and receive the yoke; too late and in vain will you look for an alliance with Philip, when you will have become a property of the Romans. Trifling causes occasionally unite and disunite the *Ætolians*, *Acar-nanians*, and *Macedonians*, men speaking the same language. With foreigners, with barbarians, all Greeks have, and ever will have, eternal war; because they are enemies by nature, which is always the same, and not from causes which change with the times. I conclude my discourse with the same argument with which I began. Three years since, the same persons, assembled in this same place, determined on peace with the same Philip, contrary to the inclinations of the same Romans, who now wish that the peace should be broken, after it has been adjusted and ratified. In the subject of your deliberation fortune has made no change; why you should make any, I do not see.'

30. Next, after the *Macedonians*, with the consent and at the desire of the Romans, the *Athenians* were introduced; who, having suffered grievously, could with the greater justice inveigh against the cruelty and inhumanity of the king. They represented in a deplorable light the miserable devastation and ruin of

their country; adding, that 'they did not complain on account of having, from an enemy, suffered hostile treatment; for there were certain rights of war, according to which, as it was just to act, so it was just to endure. Their crops being burned, their houses demolished, their men and cattle carried off as spoil, were to be considered rather as misfortunes to the sufferer, than as ill treatment. But of this they had good reason to complain, that he who called the Romans foreigners and barbarians, had so atrociously violated, himself, all rights both divine and human, as, in his former inroad, to have waged an impious war against the infernal gods, in the latter against those above. That every sepulchre and monument within their country was demolished, the graves torn open, and the bones left uncovered. There had been several temples, which, in former times, when their ancestors dwelt in the country in their separate districts, had been consecrated in each of their little forts and villages, and which, even after they were incorporated into one city, they did not neglect or forsake. Every one of these sacred edifices had Philip destroyed by fire, and left the images of the gods lying scorched and mutilated among the prostrated pillars of the temples. Such as he had rendered the country of Attica, formerly opulent, and adorned with improvements, such, if he were suffered, would he render Ætolia and every part of Greece. That Athens, also, would have been reduced to the same ruinous state, if the Romans had not come to its relief: for he had shown the same wicked rage against the gods, who are the guardians of the city, and Minerva, who presides over the citadel; the same against the temple of Ceres at Eleusis; the same against Jupiter and Minerva at Piræus. In a word, having been repelled by force of arms, not only from their temples, but even from their walls, he had vented his fury on those sacred edifices, which had no defence but in the respect due to religion. They therefore intreated and besought the Ætolians, that, compassionating the Athenians, and following the guidance of the gods, and, under them,

of the Romans, who, next to the gods, possessed the greatest power, they would take part in the war.'

31. The Roman ambassador then addressed them to this purport: 'The Macedonians first, and afterwards the Athenians, have obliged me to change intirely the method of my discourse: for, on the one hand, the Macedonians, by introducing charges against the Romans, when I had come prepared to make complaint of the injuries committed by Philip against so many cities in alliance with us, have obliged me to think of defence rather than accusation; and, on the other hand, after the relation given by the Athenians of his inhuman and impious crimes against the gods both celestial and infernal, what room is there left for me or any other to make any addition to the charge? You are to suppose that the same complaints are made by the Cianians, Abydenians, Æneans, Maronites, Thasians, Parians, Samians, Larissenians, Messenians, on the side of Achaia; and complaints, still heavier and more grievous, by those whom he had it more in his power to injure: for as to those proceedings which he censures in us, if they are not found highly meritorious, let them not be defended. He has objected to us, Rhegium, and Capua, and Syracuse. As to Rhegium, during the war with Pyrrhus, a legion which, at the earnest request of the Rhegians themselves, we had sent thither as a garrison, wickedly possessed themselves of the city which they had been sent to defend. Did we then approve of that deed? or did we exert the force of our arms against that guilty legion, until we reduced them under our power, and then, after making them give satisfaction to the allies, by their stripes and the loss of their heads, restore to the Rhegians their city, their lands, and all their effects, together with their liberty and laws? To the Syracusans, when oppressed (and, to add to the indignity, by foreign tyrants), we lent assistance; and after enduring great fatigues in carrying on the siege of so strong a city, both by land and sea, for almost three years, (although the Syracusans themselves chose to continue in slavery to the tyrants,

rather than to trust to us,) yet, becoming masters of the place, and by exertion of the same force setting it at liberty, we restored it to the inhabitants. At the same time, we do not deny that Sicily is our province, and that the states which sided with the Carthaginians, and, in conjunction with them, waged war against us, pay us tribute and taxes; on the contrary, we wish that you and all nations should know, that the condition of each is such as it has deserved at our hands: and ought we to repent of the punishment inflicted on the Campanians, of which even they themselves cannot complain? These men, after we had on their account carried on war against the Samnites for near seventy years, with great loss on our side; had united them to ourselves, first by treaty, and then by intermarriages, and the consequent affinities; and lastly, by admitting them to a participation of the rights of our state, yet, in the time of our adversity, were the first of all the states of Italy which revolted to Hannibal, after basely putting our garrison to death, and afterwards, through resentment at being besieged by us, sent Hannibal to attack Rome. If neither their city nor one man of them had been left remaining, who could take offence, or consider them as treated with more severity than they had deserved? From consciousness of guilt, greater numbers of them perished by their own hands than by the punishments inflicted by us. And while from the rest we took away the town and the lands, still we left them a place to dwell in, we suffered the city which partook not of the guilt to stand uninjured; so that there is not visible this day any trace of its having been besieged or taken. But why do I speak of Capua, when even to vanquished Carthage we granted peace and liberty? The greatest danger is, that by our too great readiness to pardon such, we may encourage others to try the fortune of war against us. Let so much suffice in our defence, and against Philip, whose domestic crimes, whose parricides and murders of his relations and friends, and whose lust, more disgraceful to human

nature, if possible, than his cruelty, you, as being nearer to Macedonia, are better acquainted with. As to what concerns you, Ætolians, we entered into a war with Philip on your account: you made peace with him without consulting us. Perhaps you will say, that while we were occupied in the Punic war, you were constrained by fear to accept terms of pacification from him who possessed superior power; and that on our side, pressed by more urgent affairs, we suspended our operations in a war which you had laid aside. At present, as we, having, by the favor of the gods, brought the Punic war to a conclusion, have fallen on Macedonia with the whole weight of our power, so you have an opportunity offered you of regaining a place in our friendship and alliance, unless you choose to perish with Philip, rather than to conquer with the Romans.'

32. After this discourse of the ambassador, the inclinations of all leaning towards the Romans, Damocritus, pretor of the Ætolians, (who, it was reported, had received money from the king,) without seeming to favor either party, said, that 'in consultations wherein the public safety was deeply interested, nothing was so injurious as haste. That repentance, indeed, generally followed, and that quickly, but yet too late and unavailing; because designs carried on with precipitation could not be recalled, nor matters brought back to their original state. The time however for determining the point under consideration, which, for his part, he thought should not be too early, might yet immediately be fixed in this manner. As it had been provided by the laws, that no determination should be made concerning peace or war, except in the Panætolic or Pylaic councils; let them immediately pass a decree, that the pretor, when he chooses to treat of either, may have full authority to summon a council; and that whatever shall be then debated and decreed, shall be, to all intents and purposes, legal and valid, as if it had been transacted in the Panætolic or Pylaic assembly.' And thus dismissing the ambassadors,

without coming to any resolution, he said, 'that therein he acted most prudently for the interest of the state; for the Ætolians would have it in their power to join in alliance with whichever of the parties should be more successful in the war.' Nothing farther was done in the assembly.

33. Meanwhile Philip was making vigorous preparations for carrying on the war both by sea and land. His naval forces he drew together at Demetrias in Thessaly; supposing that Attalus, and the Roman fleet, would move from Ægina in the beginning of the spring. He gave the command of the fleet and of the sea-coast to Heraclides, to whom he had formerly intrusted it. The equipment of the land-forces he took care of in person; and thought that he had deprived the Romans of two powerful auxiliaries, the Ætolians on the one side, and the Dardanians on the other, by making his son Perseus block up the pass at Pelagonia. The consul was employed, not in preparations, but in the operations of war. He led his army through the country of the Dassaretians, leaving the corn untouched which he had brought from his winter quarters, for the fields afforded supplies sufficient for the consumption of the troops. The towns and villages surrendered to him, some through inclination, others through fear; some were taken by assault, others were found deserted, the barbarians flying to the neighboring mountains. He fixed a standing camp at Lycus near the river Beous, and from thence sent to bring in corn from the magazines of the Dassaretians. Philip saw the whole country filled with consternation, and not knowing the designs of the consul, he sent a party of horse to discover his route. Sulpicius was in the same state of uncertainty; he knew that the king had moved from his winter quarters, but in what direction he had proceeded, he knew not: he also had sent horsemen to gain intelligence. These two parties having set out from opposite quarters, after wandering a long time among the Dassaretians, through unknown roads, fell at length into the same road.

Neither doubted, as soon as the noise of men and horses was heard at a distance, that an enemy approached : therefore before they came within sight of each other, they got their arms in readiness, and the moment they met, both hastened eagerly to engage. As they happened to be nearly equal in number and valor, being picked men on both sides, they fought during several hours with vigor, until fatigue, both of men and horses, put an end to the fight, without deciding the victory. Of the Macedonians, there fell forty horsemen ; of the Romans thirty-five. Still, however, neither party was able to carry back any certain information in what quarter the camp of his enemy lay. But this was soon made known to them by deserters ; of whom, either through restlessness, or the prospect of reward, a sufficient number are found, in every war, to discover the affairs of the contending parties.

34. Philip, judging that it would tend considerably towards conciliating the affections of his men, and induce them to face danger more readily on his account, if he bestowed some pains on the burial of the horsemen, who fell in that expedition, ordered them to be conveyed into the camp, in order that all might be spectators of the honors paid them at their funeral. Nothing is so uncertain or so difficult to form a judgment of, as the minds of the multitude. The very measures which seem calculated to increase their alacrity, in exertions of every sort, often inspire them with fear and timidity. Accordingly those, who, being always accustomed to fight with Greeks and Illyrians, had only seen wounds made with javelins and arrows, seldom even by lances, came to behold bodies dismembered by the Spanish sword, some with their arms lopped off, or, the neck intirely cut through, heads severed from the trunk, and the bowels laid open, with other shocking circumstances which the present warfare had wrought : they therefore perceived, with horror, against what weapons and what men they were to fight. Even the king himself was seized with apprehensions, having never yet engaged the Romans in

a regular battle. Wherefore, recalling his son, and the guard posted at the pass of Pelagonia, in order to strengthen his army by the addition of those troops, he thereby opened a passage into Macedonia for Pleuratus and the Dardanians. Then, taking deserters for guides, he marched towards the enemy with twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and, at the distance of somewhat more than two hundred paces from the Roman camp, and near Ithacus, he fortified a hill with a trench and rampart. From this place, taking a view of the Roman station in the valley beneath, he is said to have been struck with admiration, both at the general appearance of the camp, and the regular disposition of each particular part, distinguished by the order of the tents, and the intervals of the passages, and to have declared, that, certainly, that was not a camp of barbarians. For two days, the consul and the king, each waiting for the other's making some attempt, kept their troops within the ramparts. On the third day the Roman led out all his forces and offered battle.

35. But the king, not daring to risk so hastily a general engagement, sent four hundred Trallians, who are a tribe of the Illyrians, as we have said in another place, and three hundred Cretans; adding to this body of infantry an equal number of horse, under the command of Athenagoras, one of his nobles honored with the purple, to make an attack on the enemy's cavalry. When these troops arrived within a little more than five hundred paces, the Romans sent out the light infantry, and two cohorts of horse, that both cavalry and infantry might be equal in number to the Macedonians. The king's troops expected that the method of fighting would be such as they had been accustomed to; that the horsemen, pursuing and retreating alternately, would at one time use their weapons, at another time turn their backs; that the agility of the Illyrians would be serviceable for excursions and sudden attacks, and that the Cretans might discharge their arrows as they advanced eagerly to the charge: but this plan of fight-

ing was intirely disconcerted by the manner in which the Romans made their onset, which was not more brisk than it was obstinate; for the light infantry, as if in a general line of battle, after discharging their javelins, carried on a close fight with their swords; and the horsemen, when they had once made a charge, stopping their horses, fought, some on horseback, while others dismounted and intermixed themselves with the foot. By this means neither were the king's cavalry, who were unaccustomed to a steady fight, a match for the others; nor were the infantry, who were unacquainted with any other mode of fighting but that of skirmishing and irregular attacks, and were besides but half-covered with the kind of harness which they used, at all equal to the Roman infantry, who carried a sword and buckler, and were furnished with proper armor, both to defend themselves and to annoy the enemy: nor did they sustain the combat, but fled to their camp, trusting intirely to their speed for safety.

36. After an interval of one day the king, resolving to make an attack with all his cavalry and light-armed infantry, had, during the night, placed in ambush, in a convenient place between the two camps, a body of targeteers, whom they call peltastæ, and given orders to Athenagoras and the cavalry, if they found they had the advantage in the open fight, to pursue their success; if not, that they should retreat leisurely, and by that means draw on the enemy to the place where the ambush lay. The cavalry accordingly did retreat; but the officers of the body of targeteers, by bringing forward their men before the time, and not waiting for the signal, as they ought, lost an opportunity of performing considerable service. The Romans having gained the victory in open fight, and also escaped the danger of the ambuscade, retired to their camp. Next day the consul marched out with all his forces, and offered battle, placing his elephants (which had been taken in the Punic war) in the front of the foremost battalions, and which was the first time that the Romans made use of those creatures in the field. Finding that the

king kept himself quiet behind his intrenchments, he advanced close up to them; upbraiding him with cowardice; and as, notwithstanding, he still declined an engagement, the consul, considering how dangerous foraging must be while the camps lay so near each other, where the soldiers, dispersed through the country, were liable to be suddenly attacked by the horse, removed his camp to a place called Octolophus, distant about eight miles, where he could forage with more safety. While the Romans were collecting corn in the adjacent fields, the king kept his men within the trenches, in order to increase both the negligence and confidence of the enemy. But, when he saw them scattered, he set out with all his cavalry, and the auxiliary Cretans; and marching with such speed that the swiftest footmen could, by running, but just keep up with the horse, he took post between the camp of the Romans and their foragers. Then, dividing the forces, he sent one part of them in quest of the marauders, with orders to give no quarter; with the other, he himself halted, and placed guards on the roads through which he supposed the enemy would fly back to their camp. The slaughter and flight of the provisioning party had continued for some time on all sides, and no intelligence of the misfortune had yet reached the Roman camp, because those who fled towards the camp fell in with the guards which the king had stationed to intercept them, and greater numbers were slain by those who were placed in the roads than by those who had been sent out to attack them. At length a few effected their escape through the midst of the enemy's posts, but were so filled with terror, that they excited a general consternation in the camp, without being able to give any certain account of what was going on.

37. The consul, ordering the cavalry to carry aid to those who were in danger, in the best manner they could, drew out the legions from the camp, and led them in order of battle towards the enemy. The cavalry, taking different ways through the fields, missed

the road, being deceived by the various shouts raised in several quarters. Some of them met with the enemy, and battles began in many places at once. The hottest part of the action was at the station where the king commanded; for the guard there was, in numbers both of horse and foot, almost a complete army; and, as they were posted on the middle road, the greatest number of the Romans fell in with them. The Macedonians had also the advantage in this, that the king himself was present to encourage them; and the Cretan auxiliaries, fighting in good order, and in a state of preparation, against troops disordered and irregular, wounded many at a distance, where no such danger was apprehended. If they had acted with prudence in the pursuit, they would have secured an advantage of great importance, not only in regard to the glory of the present contest, but to the general interest of the war; but, greedy of slaughter, and following with too much eagerness, they fell in with the advanced cohorts of the Romans under the military tribunes. The horsemen who were flying, as soon as they saw the ensigns of their friends, faced about against the enemy, now in disorder; so that in a moment's time the fortune of the battle was changed, those now turning their backs who had lately been the pursuers. Many were slain in close fight, many in the pursuit; nor was it by the sword alone that they perished; several being driven into morasses were, together with their horses, swallowed up in the deep mud. The king himself was in danger; for his horse falling, in consequence of a wound, threw him headlong to the ground, and he very narrowly escaped being overpowered before he could recover his feet. He owed his safety to a trooper, who instantly leaped from his horse, on which he mounted the affrighted king; himself, as he could not run so fast as to keep up with the horsemen, was slain by the enemy, who had collected about the place where Philip fell. The king, in his desperate flight, rode about among the morasses, some of which were easily passed, and others not; at length, when most men

despaired of his ever returning, he arrived in safety at his camp. Two hundred Macedonian horsemen perished in that action; about one hundred were taken: eighty horses, richly caparisoned, were led off the field; at the same time the spoils of arms were also carried off.

38. Some have found fault with the king, as guilty of rashness on that day; and with the consul, as not having pushed with spirit the advantage which he had gained: for Philip, they say, on his part, ought to have avoided coming to action, knowing that in a few days the enemy, having exhausted all the adjacent country, must be reduced to the extremity of want; and that the consul, after having routed the Macedonian cavalry and light infantry, and nearly taken the king himself, ought to have led on his troops directly to the enemy's camp, where, dismayed as they were, they could have made no stand, and that he might have finished the war in a moment's time. This, like most other matters, was easier in speculation than in practice: for if the king had brought his infantry into the engagement, then, indeed, during the tumult, and while, vanquished and struck with dismay, they fled from the field into their intrenchments, (and even continued their flight from thence on seeing the victorious enemy mounting the ramparts,) the king's camp might have fallen into the Romans' possession. But as the infantry had remained in the camp, fresh and free from fatigue, with outposts before the gates, and guard properly disposed, what would he have gained in having imitated the rashness of which the king had just now been guilty, by pursuing the routed horse? On the other side, the king's first plan of an attack on the foragers, while dispersed through the fields, was not injudicious, could he have satisfied himself with a moderate degree of success: and it is the less surprising that he should have made a trial of fortune, as there was a report that Pleuratus and the Dardanians had marched with very numerous forces, and had already passed into Macedonia; so that, if he should be sur-

rounded on all sides, there was reason to think that the Roman might put an end to the war without stirring from his seat. Philip, however, considered, that after his cavalry had been defeated in two engagements, he could with much less safety continue in the same post; accordingly, wishing to remove from thence, and at the same time to keep the enemy in ignorance of his design, he sent a herald to the consul a little before sunset, to demand a truce for the purpose of burying the horsemen; and thus imposing on him, he began his march in silence, about the second watch, leaving a number of fires in all parts of his camp.

39. The consul had already retired to take refreshment, when he was told that the herald had arrived, and on what business: he gave him no other answer than that he should be admitted to an audience early the next morning: by which means Philip gained what he wanted, the length of that night and part of the following day, during which he might march his troops beyond the enemy's reach. He directed his route towards the mountains, a road which he knew the Romans, with their heavy baggage, would not attempt. The consul, having at the first light dismissed the herald, with a grant of a truce, in a short time after discovered that the enemy had gone off; but not knowing what course to take in pursuit of them, he remained in the same camp for several days, which he employed in collecting forage. He then marched to Stubera, and brought thither, from Pelagonia, the corn that was in the fields. From thence he advanced to Pellina, not having yet discovered to what quarter the Macedonian had bent his course. Philip having at first fixed his camp at Bryanium, marched thence through cross-roads, and gave a sudden alarm to the enemy. The Romans, on this, removed from Pellina, and pitched their camp near the river Osphagus. The king also sat down at a small distance, forming his intrenchment on the bank of the river Erigonus. Having there received certain information that the Romans intended to proceed to Eordæa, he marched away before them,

in order to take possession of the defiles, and prevent the enemy from making their way, where the roads are confined in narrow straits. There, with much labor, he fortified some places with a rampart, others with a trench, others with stones heaped up, instead of walls, others with trees laid across, according as the situation required, or as materials lay convenient; and thus a road, in its own nature difficult, he rendered, as he imagined, impregnable by the works which he drew across every pass. The adjoining ground, being mostly covered with woods, was exceedingly incommodious to the phalanx of the Macedonians, which is of no manner of use except when they extend their very long spears before their shields, forming as it were a pallisade; to perform which they require an open plain. The Thracians, too, were embarrassed by their lances, which also are of a great length, and were entangled among the branches that stood in their way on every side. The body of Cretans alone was not unserviceable; and yet even these, though in case of an attack made on them, they could to good purpose discharge their arrows against the horses or riders, where they were open to a wound, yet against the Roman shields they could do nothing, because they had neither strength sufficient to pierce through them, nor was there any part exposed at which they could aim. Perceiving, therefore, that kind of weapon to be useless, they annoyed the enemy with stones, which lay in plenty in all parts of the valley: the strokes made by these on their shields, with greater noise than injury, for a short time retarded the advance of the Romans; but quickly learning to despise these weapons also, some closing their shields in form of a tortoise, forced their way through the enemy in front; others having, by a short circuit, gained the summit of the hill, dislodged the dismayed Macedonians from their guards and posts, and even slew the greater part of them, the difficulties of the ground preventing their escape.

40. Thus, with less opposition than they had expected to meet, they passed the defiles, and came to

Eordæa; then, having laid waste the whole country, the consul withdrew into Elimea. From thence he made an irruption into Orestis, and laid siege to the city Celetrum, situated in a peninsula: a lake surrounds the walls; and there is but one entrance from the main land along a narrow isthmus. Relying on their situation, the townsmen at first shut the gates, and refused to submit; but afterwards, when they saw the troops in motion, and advancing under cover of their closed shields, and the isthmus, covered by the enemy marching in, their courage failed them, and they surrendered without hazarding a struggle. From Celetrum he advanced into the country of the Dassaretians, took the city Pelium by storm, carried off the slaves with the rest of the spoil, and discharging the freemen without ransom, restored the city to them, after placing a strong garrison in it, for it lay very conveniently for making inroads into Macedonia. Having thus carried devastation through the enemy's country, the consul led back his forces into those parts which were already reduced to obedience near Apollonia, from whence, at the beginning of the campaign, he had set out to begin his operations. Philip's attention had been drawn to other quarters by the Ætolians, Athamanians, and Dardanians: so many were the wars that started up on different sides of him. Against the Dardanians, who were now retiring out of Macedonia, he sent Athenagoras with the light infantry and the greater part of the cavalry, and ordered him to hang on their rear as they retreated; and, by cutting off their hindmost troops, make them more cautious for the future of leading out their armies from home. As to the Ætolians, Damocritus, their pretor, the same who at Naupactum had persuaded them to defer passing a decree concerning the war, had in the next meeting roused them to arms, after hearing of the battle between the cavalry at Octolophus; the irruption of the Dardanians and of Pleuratus, with the Illyrians, into Macedonia; of the arrival of the Roman fleet, too, at Oreus; and that Macedonia, besides be-

ing beset on all sides by so many nations, was in danger of being invested by sea also.

41. These reasons had brought back Damocritus and the Ætolians to the interest of the Romans. Marching out, therefore, in conjunction with Amynander, king of the Athamanians, they laid siege to Cercinium. The inhabitants here had shut their gates, whether of their own choice or by compulsion is unknown, as they had a garrison of the king's troops. However, in a few days, Cercinium was taken and burned; and after great slaughter had been made, those who survived, both free men and slaves, were carried off amongst other spoil. This caused such terror, as made all those who dwelt round the lake Boëbius abandon their cities, and fly to the mountains: and the Ætolians not finding booty, turned away from thence, and proceeded into Perrhæbia. There they took Cyretis by storm, and sacked it without mercy. The inhabitants of Mallæa, making a voluntary submission, were received into alliance. From Perrhæbia, Amynander advised to march to Gomphi, because that city lies close to Athamania, and there was reason to think that it might be reduced without any great difficulty. But the Ætolians, for the sake of plunder, directed their march to the rich plains of Thessaly, Amynander following, though he did not approve either of their careless method of carrying on their depredations, or of their pitching their camp in any place where chance directed, without choice, and without taking any care to fortify it. Therefore, lest their rashness and negligence might be the cause of some misfortune to himself and his troops, when he saw them forming their camp in low grounds, under the city Phecadus, he took possession, with his own troops, of an eminence about five hundred paces distant, which could be rendered secure by a slight fortification. The Ætolians seemed to have forgotten that they were in an enemy's country, excepting that they continued to plunder, some straggling in small parties without arms, others spending whole days and nights in drinking and sleep-

ing in the camp, neglecting even to fix guards, when Philip unexpectedly came on them. His approach being announced by those who had fled out of the fields in a fright, threw Damocritus and the rest of the officers into great confusion. It happened to be mid-day, and when most of the men, after a hearty meal, lay fast asleep. Their officers roused them, however, as fast as possible; ordered them to take arms; despatched some to recall those who were straggling through the fields in search of plunder; and so violent was their hurry, that many of the horsemen went out without their swords, and but few of them put on their corslets. After marching out in this precipitate manner, (the whole horse and foot not amounting to six hundred,) they met the king's cavalry, superior in number, in spirit, and in arms. They were therefore routed at the first charge; and, having scarcely attempted resistance, returned to the camp in shameful flight. Several were slain; and some taken, having been cut off from the main body of the runaways.

42. Philip, when his troops had advanced almost to the rampart, ordered a retreat to be sounded, because both men and horses were fatigued, not so much by the action, as by the length of their march, and the extraordinary celerity with which they had made it. He therefore despatched the horsemen by troops, and the companies of light infantry in turn, for water; after which they took refreshment. The rest he kept on guard, under arms, waiting for the main body of the infantry, which had marched with less expedition, on account of the weight of their armor. As soon as these arrived, they also were ordered to fix their standards, and, laying down their arms before them, to take food in haste; sending two, or at most three, out of each company to provide water. In the mean time the cavalry and light infantry stood in order, and ready, in case the enemy should make any motion. The Ætolians, as if resolved to defend their fortifications, (the multitude which had been scattered about the fields having, by this time, returned to the camp,)

posted bodies of armed men at the gates, and on the rampart, and from this safe situation looked with a degree of confidence on the enemy, as long as they continued quiet. But, as soon as the troops of the Macedonians began to move, and to advance to the rampart, in order of battle, and ready for an assault, they all quickly abandoned their posts, and fled through the opposite part of the camp, to the eminence where the Athamanians were stationed. During their flight in this confusion many of the Ætolians were slain, and many made prisoners. Philip doubted not that, had there been daylight enough remaining, he should have been able to make himself master of the camp of the Athamanians also; but the day being spent in the fight, and in plundering the camp afterwards, he sat down under the eminence, in the adjacent plain, determined to attack the enemy at the first dawn. But the Ætolians, under the same apprehensions which had made them desert their camp, dispersed, and fled during the following night. Amynder was of the greatest service; for, by his directions, the Athamanians, who were acquainted with the roads, conducted them into Ætolia, whilst the Macedonians pursued them over the highest mountains through unknown paths. In this disorderly flight a few, missing their way, fell into the hands of the Macedonian horsemen, whom Philip, at the first light, on seeing the eminence abandoned, had sent to infest them on their march.

43. About the same time also, Athenagoras, one of the king's generals, overtaking the Dardanians in their retreat homeward, at first threw their rear into disorder: but these unexpectedly facing about, and forming their line, the fight became like a regular engagement. When the Dardanians began again to advance, the Macedonian cavalry and light infantry harassed those who had no troops of that kind to aid them, and were, besides, burdened with unwieldy arms. The ground too favored the assailants: very few were slain, but many wounded; none were taken, because they rarely quit their ranks, but both fight and retreat

in a close body. Thus Philip, having checked the proceedings of those two nations by these well-timed expeditions, gained reparation for the damages sustained from the operations of the Romans; the enterprise being as spirited as the issue was successful. An accidental occurrence lessened the number of his enemies on the side of Ætolia. Scopas, a man of considerable influence in his own country, having been sent from Alexandria by king Ptolemy, with a great sum of gold, hired and carried away to Egypt, six thousand foot and some horse; nor would he have suffered one of the young Ætolians to remain at home had not Damocritus, (it is not easy to say, whether out of zeal for the good of the nation, or out of opposition to Scopas, for not having secured his interest by presents,) by sometimes reminding them of the war with which they were threatened, at other times, of the solitary state in which their country would be left, detained some of them. Such were the actions of the Romans and of Philip during that summer.

44. In the beginning of the same summer the fleet under Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, setting sail from Corcyra, and passing by Malea, formed a junction with king Attalus, off Scyllæum, which lies in the district of Hermione. The Athenian state, which had for a long time, through fear, restrained their animosity against Philip within some bounds, assuming confidence from the support now afforded them, gave full scope to it without any reserve. There are never wanting in that city orators, who are ready on every occasion to inflame the people; a kind of men, who, in all free states, and more particularly in that of Athens, where eloquence flourishes in the highest degree, are maintained by the favor of the multitude. These immediately proposed a decree, and the commons passed it, that 'all the statues and images of Philip, with their inscriptions, and likewise those of all his ancestors of both sexes, should be removed and defaced; that the festival days, solemnities, and priests, which had been instituted in honor of him or

them, should all be abolished; and that even the ground where any such statue had been set up, and inscribed with his name, should be held abominable.' And it was resolved that, 'for the future, nothing which ought to be erected or dedicated in a place of purity should be there erected; and that the public priests, as often as they should pray for the people of Athens, for their allies, armies, and fleets, so often should they utter curses and execrations against Philip, his offspring, his kingdom, his forces by sea and land, and the whole race and name of the Macedonians.' It was added to the decree, that 'if any person in future should make any proposal tending to throw disgrace and ignominy on Philip, the people of Athens would ratify it in its fullest extent: if, on the contrary, any one should, by word or deed, endeavor to lessen his ignominy, or to do him honor, that whoever slew such person should be justified in so doing.' Lastly, a clause was annexed, that 'all the decrees, formerly passed against the Pisistratidæ, should be in full force against Philip.' Thus the Athenians waged war against Philip with writings and with words, in which alone their power consists.

45. Attalus and the Romans, having, from Hermione, proceeded first to Piræus, and stayed there a few days, after being loaded with decrees of the Athenians, (in which the honors paid to their allies were as extravagant as the expressions of their resentment against their enemy had been,) sailed to Andros, and, coming to an anchor in the harbor called Gaureleos, sent persons to sound the inclinations of the townsmen, whether they chose voluntarily to surrender, rather than run the hazard of an assault. On their answering that they were not at their own disposal, the citadel being possessed by the king's troops, Attalus and the Roman lieutenant-general, landing their forces, with every thing requisite for attacking towns, made their approaches to the city on different sides. The Roman engines and arms, which they had never seen before, together with the spirit of the soldiers, so

briskly approaching the walls, were particularly terrifying to the Greeks, insomuch, that they immediately fled into the citadel, leaving the city in the power of the enemy. After holding out for two days in the citadel, relying more on the strength of the place than on their arms, on the third both they and the garrison capitulated, on condition of their being transported to Delium in Bœotia, and being each of them allowed a single suit of apparel. The island was yielded up by the Romans to king Attalus; the spoil, and the ornaments of the city, they themselves carried off. Attalus, desirous that the island, of which he had got possession, might not be quite deserted, persuaded almost all the Macedonians, and several of the Andrians, to remain there; and, in some time after, those who, according to the capitulation, had been transported to Delium, were induced to return from thence by the promises made them by the king, in which they were disposed the more readily to confide, by the ardent affection which they felt for their native country. From Andros the combined army passed over to Cythnus: there they spent several days to no purpose, in attempting to get possession of the city; when, at length, finding it scarcely worth the trouble, they departed. At Prasîæ, a place on the main land of Attica, twenty barks of the Issæans joined the Roman fleet. These were sent to ravage the lands of the Carystians, the rest of the fleet lying at Geræstus, a noted harbor in Eubœa, until their return from Carystus: on which, setting sail together, and steering their course through the open sea, until they passed by Scyrus, they arrived at the island of Icus. Being detained there for a few days by a violent northerly wind, as soon as it abated, they passed over to Sciathus, a city which had been lately plundered and desolated by Philip. The soldiers, spreading themselves over the country, brought back to the ships corn and many other kinds of provisions. Plunder there was none, nor had the Greeks deserved to be plundered. Directing their course to Cassandrea, they first came to Mendis, a village on

the coast of that state ; and, intending from thence to double the promontory, and bring round the fleet to the very walls of the city, they were near being buried in the waves by a furious storm. However, after being dispersed, and a great part of the ships having lost their rigging, they escaped on shore. This storm at sea was an omen of the kind of success which they were to meet on land ; for, after collecting their vessels together, and landing their forces, having made an assault on the city, they were repulsed with considerable loss, there being a strong garrison of the king's troops in the place. Being thus obliged to retreat without accomplishing their design, they passed over to Canastrum in Pallene, and from thence, doubling the promontory of Torona, conducted the fleet to Acanthus. There they first laid waste the country, then stormed the city itself, and plundered it. They proceeded no farther, for their ships were now heavily laden with booty, but went back to Sciathus, and from Sciathus to Eubœa, whence they had first set out.

46. Leaving the fleet there, they entered the Malian bay with ten light ships, in order to confer with the Ætolians on the method of conducting the war. Sipyrrhicas, the Ætolian, was at the head of the embassy that came to Heraclea, to hold a consultation with the king and the Roman lieutenant-general. They demanded of Attalus that, in pursuance of the treaty, he should supply them with one thousand soldiers, which number he had engaged for on condition of their taking part in the war against Philip. This was refused to the Ætolians, because on their part they had formerly showed themselves unwilling to march out to ravage Macedonia, at a time when Philip, being employed near Pergamus in destroying by fire every thing sacred and profane, they might have compelled him to retire from thence, in order to preserve his own territories. Thus, instead of aid, the Ætolians were dismissed with hopes, the Romans making them large promises. Apustius and Attalus returned to their ships, where they

began to concert measures for the siege of Oreus. This city was well secured by fortifications ; and also, since the attempt formerly made on it, by a strong garrison. After the taking of Andros, the combined fleet had been joined by twenty Rhodian ships, all decked vessels, under the command of Agesimbrotus. This squadron they sent to cruise off Zelasium, a promontory of Isthmia, very conveniently situate beyond Demetrias, in order that, if the ships of the Macedonians should attempt to come out, they might be at hand to oppose them. Heraclides, the king's admiral, kept his fleet there, rather with a view of laying hold of any advantage which the negligence of the enemy might afford him, than with a design of employing open force. The Romans and king Attalus carried on their attacks against Oreus on different sides ; the Romans against the citadel next to the sea, the king's troops against the lower part of the town, lying between the two citadels, where the city is also divided by a wall. As their posts were different, so were their methods of attack : the Romans made their approaches by means of covered galleries, some carried by men, others moving on wheels, applying also the ram to the walls ; the king's troops, by throwing in weapons with the balista, catapult, and every other kind of engine. They cast stones also of immense weight, formed mines, and made use of every expedient, which, on trial, had been found useful in the former siege. On the other side, the Macedonian garrison, in the town and the citadels, was not only more numerous than on the former occasion, but exerted themselves with greater spirit, in consequence of the reprimands which they had received from the king for their former misconduct, and also from remembrance both of his threats and promises with regard to their future behavior ; so that there was very little hope of its being speedily taken. The lieutenant-general thought that, in the mean time, some other business might be accomplished ; wherefore, leaving such a number of men as seemed sufficient to finish the works, he passed over to the nearest part of the continent,

and, arriving unexpectedly, made himself master of Larissa, except the citadel,—not that celebrated city in Thessaly, but another, which they call Cremaste. Attalus also surprised Ægeleos, where nothing was less apprehended than such an enterprise during the siege of another city. The works at Oreus had now begun to take effect, while the garrison within were almost spent with unremitted toil (keeping watch both by day and night), and also with wounds. Part of the wall being loosened by the strokes of the ram, had fallen down in many places; and the Romans, during the night, broke into the citadel through the breach which lay over the harbor. Attalus, likewise, at the first light, on a signal given from the citadel by the Romans, assaulted the city on his side, where great part of the walls had been levelled; on which the garrison and townsmen fled into the other citadel, and even that they surrendered in two days after. The city fell to the king, the prisoners to the Romans.

47. The autumnal equinox now approached, and the Eubœan gulf, called Coela, is reckoned dangerous by mariners. Choosing therefore to remove thence before the winter storms came on, they returned to Piræus, from whence they had set out for the campaign. Apustius, leaving there thirty ships, sailed by Malea to Corcyra. The king was delayed during the celebration of the mysteries of Ceres, immediately after which he also retired into Asia, sending home Agesimbrotus and the Rhodians. Such, during that summer, were the proceedings by sea and land of the Roman consul and lieutenant-general, aided by Attalus and the Rhodians, against Philip and his allies. The other consul, Caius Aurelius, on coming into his province, and finding the war there already brought to a conclusion, did not dissemble his resentment against the pretor for having proceeded to action in his absence; wherefore, sending him away to Etruria, he led on the legions into the enemy's country, where their operations, having no other object than booty, produced more of it than glory. Lucius Furius, finding nothing in Etruria that

could give him employment, and at the same time fired with ambition of obtaining a triumph for his success against the Gauls, which he knew would be more easily accomplished in the absence of the consul, who envied and was enraged against him, came to Rome unexpectedly, and called a meeting of the senate in the temple of Bellona; where, after making a recital of the services which he had performed, he demanded to be allowed to enter the city in triumph.

48. A great part of the senate, induced by their regard for him, and the importance of his services, showed an inclination to grant his request. The elder part refused to agree to such grant, both 'because the army, with which he had acted, belonged to another; and because he had left his province through an ambitious desire of snatching that opportunity of procuring a triumph,—a conduct altogether unprecedented.' The senators of consular rank particularly insisted, that 'he ought to have waited for the consul; for that he might, by pitching his camp near the city, and thereby securing the colony without coming to an engagement, have protracted the affair until his arrival; and that, what the pretor had not done, the senate ought to do; they should wait for the consul. After hearing the business discussed by the consul and pretor in their presence, they would be able, on better grounds, to form a judgment on the case.' Great part were of opinion that they ought to consider nothing but the service performed, and whether he had performed it while in office, and under his own auspices: for, 'when of two colonies, which had been opposed, as barriers, to restrain the tumultuous inroads of the Gauls, one had been already sacked and burned, the flames being ready to spread (as if from an adjoining house) to the other, which lay so near, what ought the pretor to have done? If it was improper to enter on any action without the consul, then the senate had acted wrong in giving the army to the pretor; because, if they chose that the business should be performed, not under the pretor's auspices, but the consul's, they

might have limited the decree in such a manner, that not the pretor, but the consul, should have the management of it: or else the consul had acted wrong, who after ordering the army to remove from Etruria into Gaul, did not meet it at Ariminum, in order to be present at operations, which were not allowed to be performed without him. But the exigences of war do not wait for the delays and procrastinations of commanders; and battles must be sometimes fought, not because commanders choose it, but because the enemy compels it. The fight itself, and the issue of the fight, is what ought to be regarded now. The enemy were routed and slain, their camp taken and plundered, the colony relieved from a siege, the prisoners taken from the other colony recovered and restored to their friends, and an end put to the war in one battle. And not only men rejoiced at this victory, but the immortal gods also had supplications paid to them for the space of three days, on account of the business of the state having been wisely and successfully, not rashly and unfortunately, conducted by Lucius Furius, pretor. Besides, the Gallic wars were, by some fatality, destined to the Furian family.'

49. By means of discourses of this kind, made by him and his friends, the interest of the pretor, who was present, prevailed over the respect due to the dignity of the absent consul, and the majority decreed a triumph to Lucius Furius. Lucius Furius, pretor, during his office triumphed over the Gauls. He carried into the treasury three hundred and twenty thousand asses,¹ and one hundred and seventy thousand pounds' weight of silver. There were neither any prisoners led before his chariot, nor spoils carried before him, nor did any soldiers follow him. It appeared that every thing except the victory belonged to the consul. Publius Scipio then celebrated in a magnificent manner the games which he had vowed when consul in

¹ 1033*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Africa ; and with respect to the lands for his soldiers, it was decreed that whatever number of years each of them had served in Spain or in Africa, he should for every year receive two acres ; and that ten commissioners should make the distribution. Three commissioners were then appointed to fill up the number of colonists at Venusia, because the strength of that colony had been reduced in the war with Hannibal : Caius Terrentius Varro, Titus Quintius Flamininus, Publius Cornelius, son of Cneius Scipio, were the commissioners who inrolled the colonists for Venusia. During the same year, Caius Cornelius Cethegus, who in the quality of proconsul commanded in Spain, routed a numerous army of the enemy in the territory of Sedeta ; in which battle it is said that fifteen thousand Spaniards were slain, and seventy-eight military standards taken. The consul Caius Aurelius, on returning from his province to Rome, to hold the elections, made heavy complaints, not on the subject on which they had supposed he would, that the senate had not waited for his coming, nor allowed him an opportunity of arguing the matter with the pretor ; but, that ' the senate had decreed a triumph in such a manner, without hearing the report of any one of those who were present at the operations of the war, except the person who was to enjoy the triumph : that their ancestors had made it a rule that the lieutenants-general, the military tribunes, the centurions, and even the soldiers, should be present at the same ; for this reason, that the reality of his exploits, to whom so high an honor was paid, might be publicly ascertained. Now, of that army which fought with the Gauls, had any one soldier, or even a soldier's servant, been present, of whom the senate could inquire concerning the truth or falsehood of the pretor's narrative ? He then appointed a day for the elections, at which were chosen consuls, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Vilius Tappulus. The pretors were then appointed, Lucius Quintius Flamininus, Lucius Valerius Flaccus,

Lucius Villius Tappulus, and Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus.

50. During that year provisions were remarkably cheap. The curule ediles, Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Sextus Ælius Pætus, distributed among the people a vast quantity of corn brought from Africa, at the rate of two asses a peck. They also celebrated the Roman games in a magnificent manner, repeating them a second day; and erected in the treasury five brazen statues out of the money paid as fines. The plebeian games were thrice repeated intire, by the ediles, Lucius Terentius Massa, and Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, who was elected pretor. There were also funeral games exhibited that year in the forum for the space of four days, on occasion of the death of Marcus Valerius Lævinus, by his sons Publius and Marcus, who gave also a show of gladiators, in which twenty-five pairs fought. Marcus Aurelius Cotta, one of the ten commissioners for keeping the books of the Sibyl, died, and Manius Acilius Glabrio was substituted in his room. It happened that both the curule ediles, lately chosen, were persons who could not immediately undertake the office: for Caius Cornelius Cethegus was absent when he was elected, being then commander in Spain; and Caius Valerius Flaccus, who was present, being flamen Dialis, could not take the oath of observing the laws; and no person was allowed to hold any office longer than five days without taking the oath. Flaccus petitioned to be excused from complying with the law, on which the senate decreed that if the edile produced a person approved of by the consuls, who would take the oath for him, the consuls, if they thought proper, should make application to the tribunes, that it might be proposed to the people. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, pretor elect, was produced to swear for his brother. The tribunes proposed to the commons, and the commons ordered that this should be as effectual as if the edile himself had sworn. With regard to the other edile, likewise, an order of the commons was made. On the tribunes putting the

question, what two persons they chose should go and take the command of the armies in Spain, in order that Caius Cornelius, curule edile, might come home to execute his office, and that Lucius Manlius Acidinus might leave that province, where he had continued many years, the commons ordered Cneius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Stertinius, proconsuls, to command in Spain.

BOOK XXXII.

CHAP. 1. THE consuls and pretors entering into office on the ides of March, [A. U. C. 553. B. C. 199] cast lots for the provinces. Italy fell to Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, Macedonia to Publius Villius. Of the pretors, the city jurisdiction fell to Lucius Quintius, Ariminum to Cneius Bæbius, Sicily to Lucius Valerius, Sardinia to Lucius Villius. The consul, Lentulus, was ordered to levy new legions; Villius to receive the army from Publius Sulpicius; and, to complete its number, power was given him to raise as many men as he thought proper. To the pretor Bæbius were decreed the legions, which Caius Aurelius, late consul, had commanded, with directions that he should keep them in their present situation until the consul should come with the new army to supply their place; and that, on his arriving in Gaul, all the soldiers who had served out their time should be sent home, except five thousand of the allies, which would be sufficient to protect the province round Ariminum. The command was continued to the pretors of the former year; to Cneius Sergius, that he might superintend the distribution of land to the soldiers, who had served for

many years in Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; to Quintus Minucius, that he might finish the inquiries concerning the conspiracies in Bruttium, which, while pretor, he had managed with care and fidelity. That he should also send to Locri, to suffer punishment, those who had been convicted of sacrilege, and who were then in chains at Rome; taking care, at the same time, that whatever had been carried away from the temple of Proserpine should be replaced, and proper atonements made. The Latine festival was repeated in pursuance of a decree of the pontiffs, because ambassadors from Ardea had complained to the senate, that during the said solemnity they had not been supplied with meat as usual. From Suessa an account was brought, that two of the gates, and the wall between them, were struck with lightning. Messengers from Formiæ related, that the temple of Jupiter was also struck by lightning; from Ostia, likewise, news came of the like accident having happened to the temple of Jupiter there; it was said, too, that the temples of Apollo and Sancus, at Veliternum, were struck in like manner; and that in the temple of Hercules, hair grew on the statue. A letter was received from Quintus Minucius, propretor, from Bruttium, that a foal had been born with five feet, and three chickens with three feet each. Afterwards a letter was brought from Macedonia, from Publius Sulpicius, proconsul, in which, among other matters, it was mentioned, that a laurel-tree had sprung up on the poop of a ship of war. On occasion of the former prodigies, the senate had voted, that the consuls should offer sacrifices with the greater victims, to such gods as they thought proper. On account of the last prodigy, alone, the aruspices were called before the senate, and, in pursuance of their answer, the people were ordered by proclamation to perform a supplication for one day, and worship was solemnised at all the shrines.

2. This year the Carthaginians brought to Rome the first payment of the silver imposed on them as a tribute; and the questors having reported that it was not

of the proper standard, and that on the assay it wanted a fourth part, they borrowed money at Rome, and made up the deficiency. On their requesting that the senate would be pleased to order their hostages to be restored to them, a hundred were given up, with assurances in regard to the rest, if they continued to observe the treaty. They then farther requested, that the remaining hostages might be removed from Norba, where they were ill accommodated, to some other place, and they were permitted to remove to Signia and Ferentinum. The request of the people of Gades was likewise complied with: that a governor should not be sent to their city; being contrary to their stipulation with Lucius Marcius Septimus, when they came under the protection of the Roman people. Deputies from Narnia, complaining that they had not their due number of settlers, and that several who were not of their community had crept in among them, and assumed the privileges of colonists, Lucius Cornelius, consul, was ordered to appoint three commissioners to adjust those matters. The three appointed were Publius and Sextus Ælius, both surnamed Pætus; and Caius Cornelius Lentulus. The favor granted to the Narnians, of filling up their number of colonists, was refused to the people of Cossa, who applied for it.

3. The consuls, having finished the business that was to be done at Rome, set out for their provinces. Publius Villius, on coming into Macedonia, found the soldiers in a violent mutiny, signs of which had appeared some time before. There were two thousand concerned in it. These troops, after Hannibal was vanquished, had been transported from Africa to Sicily, and in about a year after, into Macedonia, as volunteers: they denied, however, that this was done with their consent, affirming, that they had been put on board the ships by the tribunes, contrary to their remonstrances; but, in what manner soever they had become engaged in that service, whether by compulsion or not, the time of it was now expired, and it was reasonable that some end should be put to their toils. For many years they had not seen Italy, but had grown

old under arms in Sicily, Africa, and Macedonia; they were now, in short, worn out with labor and fatigue, and had lost the best part of their blood by the many wounds which they had received.' The consul told them, that 'the grounds on which they demanded their discharge appeared to him to be reasonable, if the demand had been made in a moderate manner; but that neither on that, nor on any other grounds, could mutiny ever be justified. Wherefore, if they were contented to adhere to their standards, and obey orders, he would write to the senate concerning their release; and that what they desired would more easily be obtained by modest behavior than by turbulence.'

4. At this time, Philip was pushing on the siege of Thaumaci, with the utmost vigor, by means of mounds and engines, and was ready to bring up the ram to the walls, when he was obliged to relinquish the undertaking by the sudden arrival of the Ætolians, who, under the command of Archidamus, having made their way into the town between the posts of the Macedonians, never ceased, day or night, making continual sallies, sometimes against the guards, sometimes against the works. They were at the same time favored by the nature of the place; for Thaumaci stands near the road from Thermopylæ, and the Malian bay, through Lamia, on a lofty eminence, hanging immediately over the narrow pass called Cæle. After passing through the craggy grounds of Thessaly, the roads are rendered intricate by the windings of the valleys, and on the near approach to the city, such an immense plain opens at once to view, like a vast sea, that the eye can scarcely reach the bounds of the expanse beneath. From this surprising prospect it was called Thaumaci. The city itself is secured, not only by the height of its situation, but by its standing on a rock, from the sides of which, all round, the projecting parts had been pared off. In consequence of these difficulties, and the prize not appearing sufficient to recompense so much toil and danger, Philip desisted from the attempt. The winter also was approaching; he there-

fore retired from thence, and led back his troops into winter quarters in Macedonia.

5. There, whilst others, glad of any interval of rest, consigned both body and mind to repose, Philip, in proportion as the season of the year had relieved him from the incessant fatigues of marching and fighting, found his care and anxiety increase the more, when he turned his thoughts towards the general issue of the war. He dreaded, not only his enemies, who pressed him hard by land and sea, but also the dispositions, sometimes of his allies, at others of his own subjects. The former, he thought, might be induced, by hopes of friendship with the Romans, to change sides, and the Macedonians themselves be seized with a desire of innovation. Wherefore, he despatched ambassadors to the Achæans, both to require their oath, (for it had been made an article of their agreement that they should take an oath of fidelity to Philip every year,) and at the same time to restore to them Orchomenes, Heræa, and Triphylia. To the Megalopolitans he delivered up Aliphera; which city, they insisted, had never belonged to Triphylia, but ought to be restored to them, having been one of those that were incorporated by the council of the Arcadians for the founding of Megalopolis. These measures had the desired effect of strengthening his connexion with the Achæans. The affections of the Macedonians he conciliated by his treatment of Heraclides: for finding that, from having countenanced this man, he had incurred the general displeasure of his subjects, he charged him with a number of crimes, and threw him into chains, to the great joy of the people. In his preparations for war, he exerted the most vigorous efforts; exercised both the Macedonian and mercenary troops in arms, and, in the beginning of spring sent Athenagoras, with all the foreign auxiliaries and light troops, through Epirus into Chaonia, to seize the pass at Antigonía, which the Greeks called Stena. He followed, in a few days, with the heavy troops; and having viewed every situation in the country, he judged that the most advantageous

post for fortifying himself was on the river Aous. This river runs in a narrow vale, between two mountains, one of which the natives call the river Asnaus, affording a passage of very little breadth along the bank. He ordered Athenagoras, with the light infantry, to take possession of Asnaus, and to fortify it. His own camp he pitched on *Æropus*. Those places, where the rocks were steep, were defended by guards of a few soldiers only; the less secure he strengthened, some with trenches, some with ramparts, and others with towers. A great number of engines, also, were disposed in proper places, that, by means of weapons thrown from these, they might keep the enemy at a distance. The royal pavilion was pitched on the outside of the rampart, on the most conspicuous eminence, in order, by this show of confidence, to dishearten the foe, and raise the hopes of his own men.

6. The consul received intelligence from Charopus of Epirus, that the king, with his army, had posted himself in this pass. As soon therefore as the spring began to open, he left Corcyra, where he had passed the winter, and, sailing over to the continent, led on his army. When he came within about five miles of the king's camp, leaving the legions in a strong post, he went forward in person with some light troops to view the nature of the country; and, on the day following, held a council, in order to determine whether he should, notwithstanding the great labor and danger to be encountered, attempt a passage through the defiles occupied by the enemy, or lead round his forces by the same road through which Sulpicius had penetrated into Macedonia the year before. The deliberations on this question had lasted several days, when news arrived that Titus Quintus had been elected consul; that he had obtained, by lot, Macedonia as his province; and that hastening his journey, he had already come over to Corcyra. Valerius Antias says that Villius marched into the defile, and that, as he could not proceed straight forward, because every pass was occupied by the king, he followed the course of a

valley, through the middle of which the river Aous flows, and having hastily constructed a bridge, passed over to the bank, where the king lay, and fought a battle with him; that the king was routed, and driven out of his camp; that twelve thousand Macedonians were killed, and two thousand two hundred taken, together with a hundred and thirty-two military standards, and two hundred and thirty horses. He adds, that during the battle a temple was vowed to Jupiter in case of success. The other historians, both Greek and Latin, (all those at least whose accounts I have read,) affirm, that nothing memorable was done by Villius, and that Titus Quintius the consul, who succeeded him, found that no progress whatever had been made in the business of the war.

7. During the time of these transactions in Macedonia the other consul, Lucius Lentulus, who had stayed at Rome, held an assembly for the election of censors. Out of many illustrious men who stood candidates, were chosen Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus and Publius Ælius Pæstus. These, acting together in perfect harmony, read the list of the senate without passing a censure on any one member: they also let to farm the port-duties at Capua, and those at the fort of Puteoli, situate where the city now stands; inrolling for this latter place three hundred colonists, that being the number fixed by the senate: they also sold the lands of Capua, which lie at the foot of Mount Tifata. About the same time Lucius Manlius Acidinus, on his return from Spain, was hindered from entering the city in ovation by Marcus Portius Læca, plebeian tribune, notwithstanding he had obtained permission of the senate: coming then into the city in a private character, he conveyed to the treasury one thousand two hundred pounds' weight of silver, and about thirty pounds' weight of gold. During this year Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, who had succeeded to the government of the province of Gaul, in the room of Caius Aurelius, consul of the year preceding, having, without proper caution, entered the territories of the Insubrian

Gauls, was, with almost the whole of his army, attacked at disadvantage and overthrown. He lost above six thousand six hundred men,—a severe blow from an enemy who had for some time ceased to be considered as being formidable. This event called away the consul, Lucius Lentulus, from the city; who, arriving in the province, which was in general confusion, and taking the command of the army, which he found dispirited by its defeat, severely reprimanded the pretor, and ordered him to quit the province, and return to Rome. Neither did the consul himself perform any considerable service, being called home to preside at the elections, which were obstructed by Marcus Fulvius and Manius Curius, plebeian tribunes, who wished to hinder Titus Quintius Flamininus from standing candidate for the consulship, after passing through the office of questor. They alleged that 'the edileship and pretorship were now held in contempt, and that the nobility did not make their way to the consulship through the regular gradations of offices; but, passing over the intermediate steps, pushed at once from the lowest to the highest.' From a dispute in the field of Mars, the affair was brought before the senate, where it was voted 'that when a person sued for any post, which by the laws he was permitted to hold, the people had the right of choosing whoever they thought proper.' To this decision of the senate the tribunes submitted, and thereon Sextus Ælius Pætus and Titus Quintius Flamininus were elected. Then was held the election of pretors. The persons chosen were Lucius Cornelius Merula, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Marcus Porcius Cato, and Caius Helvius, who had been plebeian ediles. These repeated the plebeian games, and, on occasion of the games, celebrated a feast of Jupiter. The curule ediles, also, Caius Valerius Flaccus, who was flamen of Jupiter, and Caius Cornelius Cethegus, celebrated the Roman games with great magnificence. Servius and Caius Sulpicius Galba, pontiffs, died this year: in their room, in the college, were substituted Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Cneius Cornelius Scipio.

8. The new consuls, Sextus Ælius Pætus and Titus Quintius Flamininus, on assuming the administration, [A. U. C. 554. B. C. 198] convened the senate in the capitol, and the fathers decreed, that 'the consuls should settle between themselves, or cast lots, for the provinces Macedonia and Italy. That he to whom Macedonia fell should enlist, as a supplement to the legions, three thousand Roman footmen, and three hundred horse; and also five thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen, of the Latine confederates.' The army assigned to the other consul was to consist intirely of new-raised men. Lucius Lentulus, consul of the preceding year, was continued in command, and was ordered not to depart from the province, nor to remove the old army, until the consul should arrive with the new legions. The consuls cast lots for the provinces, and Italy fell to Ælius, Macedonia to Quintius. Of the pretors, the lots gave to Lucius Cornelius Merula the city jurisdiction; to Marcus Claudius, Sicily; to Marcus Porcius, Sardinia; and to Caius Helvius, Gaul. The levying of troops was then begun; for besides the consular armies, they had been ordered also to enlist men for the pretors: for Marcellus, in Sicily, four thousand foot and three hundred horse of the Latine confederates; for Cato, in Sardinia, three thousand foot and two hundred horse of the same country; with directions that both these pretors, on their arrival in their provinces, should disband the veterans, both foot and horse. The consuls then introduced to the senate ambassadors from king Attalus. These, after representing that their king gave every assistance to the Roman arms on land and sea, with his fleet and all his forces, and had hitherto executed with zeal and alacrity every order of the consuls, added, that 'they feared it would not be in his power to continue so to do, as he was much embarrassed by Antiochus, who had invaded his kingdom when the sea and land forces, which might have defended it, were removed to a distance. That Attalus therefore intreated the conscript fathers, if they chose to employ

his army and navy in the Macedonian war, then to send a body of forces to protect his territories; or if that were not agreeable, to allow him to go home for that purpose, with his fleet and troops.' The following answer was ordered to be given to the ambassadors: that 'the senate retained a due sense of Attalus' friendship, in aiding the Roman commanders with his fleet and other forces. That they would neither send succors to Attalus against Antiochus, the ally and friend of the Roman people, nor would they detain the troops which he had sent to their assistance, to his inconvenience. That it was ever a constant rule with the Roman people to use the aid of others, so far only as was agreeable to the will of those who gave it; and even to leave those who were so inclined at full liberty to determine when that assistance should commence, and when it should cease. That they would send ambassadors to Antiochus, to represent to him that Attalus, with his fleet and army, were at the present employed by the Roman people against Philip, their common enemy; and that they would request Antiochus to leave the dominions of Attalus unmolested, and to refrain from all hostilities; for that it was much to be wished that kings, who were allies and friends to the Roman people, should maintain friendship between themselves also.'

9. When the consul Titus Quintius had finished the levies, in making which he chose principally such as had served in Spain or Africa, that is, soldiers of approved courage, and when hastening to set forward to his province, he was delayed by reports of prodigies, and the expiations of them necessary to be performed. There had been struck by lightning the public road at Veii, a temple of Jupiter at Lanuvium, a temple of Hercules at Ardea, with a wall and towers at Capua; also the edifice which is called Alba. At Arretium the sky appeared as on fire; at Velitræ the earth, to the extent of three acres, sunk down so as to form a vast chasm. From Suessa Aurunca an account was brought of a lamb born with two heads; from Sinuessa, of a

swine with a human head. On occasion of these ill omens a supplication of one day's continuance was performed; the consuls employed themselves diligently in the worship of the gods, and as soon as these were appeased set out for their provinces. *Ælius*, accompanied by *Caius Helvius*, pretor, went into Gaul, where he put under the command of the pretor the army which he received from *Lucius Lentulus*, and which he ought to have disbanded, intending to carry on his own operations with the new troops which he had brought with him; but he effected nothing worth recording. The other consul, *Titus Quintius*, setting sail from *Brundisium* earlier than had been usual with former consuls, reached *Corcyra*, with eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse. From this place he passed over, in a *quinquereme*, to the nearest part of *Epirus*, and proceeded by long journeys to the Roman camp. Here he dismissed *Villius*; and waiting a few days, until the forces from *Corcyra* should come up and join him, held a council, to determine whether he should endeavor to force his way straight forward through the camp of the enemy; or whether, without attempting an enterprise of so great difficulty and danger, he should not rather take a circuitous and safe road, so as to penetrate into *Macedonia* by the country of the *Dassaretians* and *Lycus*. The latter plan would have been adopted had he not feared that, in removing to a greater distance from the sea, the enemy might slip out of his hands; and that if the king should resolve to secure himself in the woods and wilds, as he had done before, the summer might be spun out without any thing being effected. It was therefore determined, be the event what it might, to attack the enemy in their present post, disadvantageous as it would seem to an assailant. But it was easier to resolve on this measure than to devise any safe or certain method of accomplishing it.

10. Forty days were passed in view of the enemy, without making any kind of effort. Hence *Philip* conceived hopes of bringing about a treaty of peace,

through the mediation of the people of Epirus; and a council, which was held for the purpose, having appointed Pausanias the pretor, and Alexander the master of the horse, as negotiators, they brought the consul and the king to a conference, on the banks of the river Aous, where the channel was narrowest. The sum of the consul's demands was, that the king should withdraw his troops from the territories of the several states; that to those whose lands and cities he had plundered he should restore such of their effects as could be found; and that the value of the rest should be estimated by a fair arbitration. Philip answered, that 'the cases of the several states differed widely from each other: that such as he himself had seized on he would set at liberty; but he would not divest himself of the hereditary and just possessions which had been conveyed down to him from his ancestors. If those, with whom hostilities had been carried on, complained of any losses in the war, he was ready to submit the matter to the arbitration of any state with whom both parties were at peace.' To this the consul replied, that 'the business required neither judge nor arbitrator: for who did not see clearly that every injurious consequence of the war was to be imputed to the first aggressor? And in this case Philip, unprovoked by any, had first commenced hostilities against all.' When they next began to treat of those nations which were to be set at liberty, the consul named, first, the Thessalians: on which the king indignantly exclaimed, 'What harsher terms, Titus Quintius, could you impose on me, if I were vanquished?' With these words he retired hastily from the conference; and they were prevented only by the river, which separated them, from assaulting each other with missile weapons. On the following day many skirmishes took place between parties sallying from the outposts, in a plain sufficiently wide for the purpose. Afterwards the king's troops drew back into narrow and rocky places, whither the Romans, keenly eager for fighting, penetrated also. These had in their favor order and

military discipline, while their arms were of a kind well calculated for pressing close on the Macedonians, who had indeed the advantage of ground, with balistas and catapultas disposed on almost every rock as on walls. After many wounds given and received on both sides, and numbers being slain, as in a regular engagement, darkness put an end to the fight.

11. While matters were in this state a herdsman, sent by Charopus, prince of the Epirots, was brought to the consul. He said, that 'being accustomed to feed his herd in the forest, then occupied by the king's camp, he knew every winding and path in the neighboring mountains; and that if the consul thought proper to send some troops with him, he would lead them by a road, neither dangerous nor difficult, to a spot over the enemy's head.' Charopus sent a message to the Roman, to give just so much credit to this man's account as should still leave every thing in his own power, and as little as possible in that of the other. Though the consul rather wished than dared to give the intelligence full belief, and though his emotions of joy were strongly checked by fear, yet being moved by the confidence due to Charopus, he resolved to put to trial the favorable offer. In order to prevent all suspicion of the matter, during the two following days he carried on attacks against the enemy without intermission, drawing out troops against them in every quarter, and sending up fresh men to relieve the wearied. Then, selecting four thousand foot and three hundred horse, he put them under the command of a military tribune, with directions to advance the horse as far as the nature of the ground allowed; and when they came to places impassable to cavalry, then to post them in some plain; that the infantry should proceed by the road which the guide would show; and that when, according to his promise, they arrived on the height over the enemy's head, then they should give a signal by smoke, but raise no shout, until the tribune should have reason to think that, in consequence of the signal received from him, the battle was begun. He ordered that the

troops should march by night, (the moon shining through the whole of it,) and employ the day in taking food and rest. The most liberal promises were made to the guide, provided he fulfilled his engagement; he bound him, nevertheless, and delivered him to the tribune. Having thus sent off this detachment, the Roman general exerted redoubled vigor in every part to make himself master of the posts of the enemy.

12. On the third day the Roman party made the signal by smoke to notify that they had gained possession of the eminence to which they had been directed; and then the consul, dividing his forces into three parts, marched up with the main strength of his army through a valley in the middle, and made the wings on right and left advance to the camp of the enemy. Nor did these betray any want of spirit, but came out briskly to meet him. The Roman soldiers, in the ardor of their courage, long maintained the fight on the outside of their works, for they had no small superiority in bravery, in skill, and in the nature of their arms; but when the king's troops, after many of them were wounded and slain, retreated into places secured either by intrenchments or situation, the danger reverted on the Romans, who pushed forward, inconsiderately, into disadvantageous grounds and defiles, out of which a retreat was difficult. Nor would they have extricated themselves without suffering for their rashness, had not the Macedonians first, by a shout heard in their rear, and then by an attack begun on that quarter, been utterly dismayed and confounded at the unthought-of danger. Some betook themselves to a hasty flight; some keeping their stand, rather because they could find no way for flight, than that they possessed spirit to support the engagement, were cut off by the Romans, who pressed them hard both on front and rear. Their army might have been intirely destroyed had the victors continued their pursuit of the fugitives; but the cavalry were obstructed by the narrowness of the passes and the ruggedness of the ground; and the infantry by the weight of their ar-

mor. The king at first fled with precipitation, and without looking behind him; but afterwards, when he had proceeded as far as five miles, he began, from recollecting the unevenness of the road, to suspect (what was really the case) that the enemy could not follow him; and halting, he despatched his attendants through all the hills and valleys to collect the stragglers together. His loss was not more than two thousand men. The rest of his army coming to one spot, as if they had followed some signal, marched off in a compact body towards Thessaly. The Romans, after having pursued the enemy as far as they could with safety, killing such as they overtook, and despoiling the slain, seized and plundered the king's camp; to which, even when there were no troops to oppose them, they could not easily make their way. The following night they were lodged within their own trenches.

13. Next day the consul pursued the enemy through the same defiles, following the course of the river as it winds through the valleys. The king came first to the camp of Pyrrhus, a place so called in Triphylia, a district of Melotis; and on the following day, by a very long march, his fears urging him on, he reached Mount Lingos. This ridge of mountains belongs to Epirus, and stretches along between Macedonia and Thessaly; the side next to Thessaly faces the east, that next to Macedonia the north. These hills are thickly clad with woods, and on their summits have open plains and springs of water. Here Philip remained encamped for several days, being unable to determine whether he should continue his retreat until he arrived in his own dominions, or whether he might venture back into Thessaly. At length, he resolved to direct his route into Thessaly; and, going by the shortest roads to Tricca, he made hasty excursions from thence to all the cities within his reach. The inhabitants who were able to accompany him he carried away from their habitations, and burned the towns, allowing the owners to take with them such of their

effects as they were able to carry; the rest became the prey of the soldiers; nor was there any kind of cruelty which they could have suffered from an enemy that they did not suffer from these their confederates. The infliction of such hardships was irksome to Philip, even while he authorised it; but as the country was soon to become the property of the foe, he wished to rescue out of it their persons at least. In this manner were ravaged the towns of Phacium, Iresia, Eubydrium, Eretria, and Palæphatus. On his coming to Pheræ the gates were shut against him, and as it would necessarily occasion a considerable delay, if he attempted to take it by force, and as he could not spare time, he dropped the design, and crossed over the mountains into Macedonia; for he had received intelligence that the Ætolians too were marching towards him. These, on hearing of the battle fought on the banks of the river Aous, first laid waste the nearest tracts round Sperchia, and Long Come, as it is called, and then, passing over into Thessaly, got possession of Cymine and Angea at the first assault. From Metropolis they were repulsed by the inhabitants, who, while a part of their army was plundering the country, assembled in a body to defend the city. Afterwards, making an attempt on Callithere, they were attacked by the townsmen in a like manner; but withstood their onset with more steadiness, drove back into the town the party which had sallied, and content with that success, as they had scarcely any prospect of taking the place by storm, retired. They then took by assault and sacked the towns of Theuma and Calathas. Achorræ they gained by surrender. Xyniæ, through similar apprehensions, was abandoned by the inhabitants. These having forsaken their homes, and going together in a body, fell in with a party of Athamanians employed in protecting their foragers; all of whom, an irregular and unarmed multitude, incapable of any resistance, were put to the sword by the troops. The deserted town of Xyniæ was plundered. The Ætolians then took Cyphara, a

fort conveniently situated on the confines of Dolopia. All this the Ætolians performed within the space of a few days.

14. Amynder and the Athamanians, when they heard of the victory obtained by the Romans, continued not inactive. Amynder, having little confidence in his own troops, requested aid from the consul; and then advancing towards Gomphi, he stormed on his march a place called Pheca, situate between that town and the narrow pass which separates Thessaly from Athamania. He then attacked Gomphi, and though the inhabitants defended it for several days with the utmost vigor, yet, as soon as he had raised the scaling-ladders to the walls, the same apprehensions which had operated on others, made them capitulate. This capture of Gomphi spread the greatest consternation among the Thessalians: their fortresses of Argenta, Pherinus, Thimarus, Lisinæ, Stimon, and Lampsus, surrendered, one after another, with several other garrisons equally inconsiderable. While the Athamanians and Ætolians, delivered from fear of the Macedonians, converted to their own profit the fruits of another's victory, and Thessaly, ravaged by three armies at once, knew not which to believe its foe or its friend, the consul marched on, through the pass which the enemy's flight had left open, into the country of Epirus. Though he well knew which party the Epirots, excepting their prince Charopus, were disposed to favor, yet as he saw that even from the motive of atoning for past behavior, they obeyed his orders with diligence, he regulated his treatment of them by the standard of their present rather than of their former temper, and by this readiness to pardon, conciliated their affection for the future. Then, sending orders to Corcyra, for the transport ships to come into the Ambrician bay, he advanced by moderate marches, and on the fourth day pitched his camp on Mount Cercetius. Hither he ordered Amynder to come with his auxiliary troops; not so much because he wanted such addition of his forces, as with design

to use them as guides into Thessaly. With the same purpose, many volunteers of the Epirots also were admitted into the corps of auxiliaries.

15. Of the cities of Thessaly, the first which he attacked was Phaleria. The garrison here consisted of two thousand Macedonians, who made at first a most vigorous resistance, availing themselves, to the utmost, of every advantage that their arms and works could afford. The assault was carried on without intermission or relaxation, either by day or by night, because the consul thought that it would have a powerful effect on the spirits of the rest of the Thessalians, if the first who made trial of the Roman strength were unable to withstand it; and this at the same time subdued the obstinacy of the Macedonians. On the reduction of Phaleria, deputies came from Metropolis and Piera, surrendering those cities. To them, on their petition, pardon was granted: Phaleria was sacked, and burned. He then proceeded to Æginium; but finding this place so circumstanced that, even with a moderate garrison, it was safe, after discharging a few weapons against the nearest advanced guard, he directed his march towards the territory of Gomphi; and thence, into the plains of Thessaly. His army was now in want of every thing, because he had spared the lands of the Epirots; he therefore despatched messengers to learn whether the transports had reached Leucas and the Ambracian bay; sending the cohorts, in turn, to Ambracia for corn. Now the road from Gomphi to Ambracia, although difficult and embarrassed, is very short: so that in a few days provisions were brought up from the sea in abundance. He then marched to Atrax, which is about ten miles from Larissa, on the river Peneus. The inhabitants came originally from Perrhæbia. The Thessalians here were not in the least alarmed at the first coming of the Romans; and Philip, although he durst not himself advance into Thessaly, yet, keeping his station in the vale of Tempe, whenever any place was attempted by

the enemy, he sent up reinforcements as occasion required.

16. About the time that Quintius first pitched his camp opposite to Philip's, and at the entrance of Epirus, Lucius, the consul's brother, whom the senate had commissioned both to the naval command and to the government of the coast, sailed over with two quinqueremes to Corcyra; and when he learned that the fleet had departed thence, thinking any delay improper, he followed, and overtook it at the island of Zama. Here he dismissed Lucius Apustius, in whose room he had been appointed, and then proceeded to Malea, but at a slow rate, being obliged, for the most part, to tow the vessels which accompanied him with provisions. From Malea, after ordering the rest to follow with all possible expedition, himself, with three light quinqueremes, hastened forward to the Piræus, and took under his command the ships left there by Lucius Apustius, lieutenant-general, for the protection of Athens. At the same time two fleets set sail from Asia; one of twenty-four quinqueremes, under king Attalus; the other belonging to the Rhodians, consisting of twenty decked ships, and commanded by Agesimbrotus. These fleets, joining near the island of Andros, sailed for Eubœa, to reach which place they had only to cross a narrow channel. They first ravaged the lands belonging to Carystus; but, judging that city too strong, in consequence of a reinforcement hastily sent from Chalcis, they bent their course to Eretria. Lucius Quintius also, on hearing of the arrival of king Attalus, came thither with the ships which had lain at the Piræus, having left orders that his own ships should as they arrived follow him to Eubœa. The siege of Eretria was now pushed forward with the utmost vigor; for the three combined fleets carried machines and engines of all sorts, for the demolition of towns, and the adjacent country offered abundance of timber for the construction of new works. At the beginning the townsmen defended themselves with a good degree of spirit; afterwards, when they felt the effects of fatigue, a great many being likewise wounded,

and a part of the wall demolished by the enemy's works; they became disposed to capitulate. But they had a garrison of Macedonians, of whom they stood in no less dread than of the Romans; and Philocles, the king's general, sent frequent messages from Chalcis, that he would bring them succor in due time, if they could hold out the siege. The hope of this, in conjunction with their fears, obliged them to protract the time longer than was consistent either with their wishes or their strength. However, having learned soon after that Philocles had been repulsed in the attempt, and forced to fly back in disorder to Chalcis, they instantly sent deputies to Attalus to beg pardon and protection. While intent on the prospect of peace, they remitted their diligence in the duties of war, and kept armed guards in that quarter only where the breach had been made in the wall, neglecting all the rest; Quintius made an assault by night on the side where it was least apprehended, and carried the town by scalade. The townsmen, with their wives and children, fled into the citadel, but soon after surrendered themselves prisoners. The quantity of money, of gold and silver taken, was not great. Of statues and pictures, the works of ancient artists, and other ornaments of that kind, a greater number was found than could be expected, either from the size of the city, or its opulence in other particulars.

17. The design on Carystus was then resumed, and the fleets sailed thither; on which the whole body of the inhabitants, before the troops were disembarked, deserted the city and fled into the citadel, whence they sent deputies to beg protection from the Roman general. To the townspeople life and liberty were immediately granted; and it was ordered that the Macedonians should pay a ransom of three hundred drachmas¹ a head, deliver up their arms, and quit the country. After being thus ransomed, they were transported, unarmed, to Bœotia. The combined fleets having, in the

¹ 9l. 13s. 9d.

space of a few days, taken these two important cities of Eubœa, sailed round Sunium, a promontory of Attica, and steered their course to Cenchrea, the grand mart of the Corinthians. In the mean time the consul found the siege of Atrax more tedious than he had imagined, the enemy making an unexpected resistance. He had supposed that the whole of the trouble would be in demolishing the wall, and that if he could once open a passage for his soldiers into the city, the consequence would then be, the flight and slaughter of the enemy, as usually happens on the capture of towns. But when, on a breach being made in the wall by the rams, and when the soldiers, by mounting over the ruins, had entered the place, this proved only the beginning, as it were, of an unusual and fresh labor: for the Macedonians in garrison, who were both chosen men and many in number, supposing that they would be intitled to extraordinary honor if they should maintain the defence of the city by means of arms and courage, rather than by the help of walls, formed themselves in a compact body, strengthening their line by an uncommon number of files in depth. These, when they saw the Romans entering by the breaches, drove them back, so that they were entangled among the rubbish, and with difficulty could effect a retreat. This gave the consul great uneasiness; for he considered such a disgrace, not merely as it retarded the reduction of a single city, but as likely to affect materially the whole process of the war, which in general depends much on the influence of events in themselves unimportant. Having therefore cleared the ground about the half-ruined wall, he brought up a tower of extraordinary height, consisting of many stories, and which carried a great number of soldiers. He likewise sent up the cohorts in strong bodies one after another, to force their way if possible through the wedge of the Macedonians, which is called a phalanx. But in such a confined space (for the wall was thrown down to no great extent), the enemy had the advantage, both in the kind of weapons which they

used and in the manner of fighting. When the Macedonians, in close array, stretched out before them their long spears against the target fence which was formed by the close position of their antagonists' shields, and when the Romans, after discharging their javelins without effect, drew their swords, these could neither press on to a closer combat, nor cut off the heads of the spears; and if they did cut or break off any, the shaft being sharp at the part where it was broken, filled up its place among the points of those which were unbroken, in a kind of palisade. Besides this, the parts of the wall still standing, covered safely the flanks of the Macedonians, who were not obliged, either in retreating or in advancing to an attack, to pass through a long space, which generally occasions disorder in the ranks. An accidental circumstance also helped to confirm their courage; for as the tower was moved along a bank not sufficiently compacted, one of the wheels sinking into a rut, made the tower lean in such a manner that it appeared to the enemy as if falling, and threw the soldiers posted on it into consternation and affright.

18. As none of his attempts met any success, the consul was very unwilling to allow the difference between the two kinds of soldiery and their weapons to be manifested in such trials; at the same time, he could neither see any prospect of reducing the place speedily, nor any means of subsisting in winter, at such a distance from the sea, and in a country desolated by the calamities of war. He therefore raised the siege; and as, along the whole coast of Acarnania and Ætolia, there was no port capable of containing all the transports that brought supplies to the army, nor any place which afforded lodgings to the legions, he pitched on Anticyra, in Phocis, on the Corinthian gulf, as most commodiously situated for his purpose. There the legions would be at no great distance from Thessaly, and the places belonging to the enemy; while they would have in front Peloponnesus, separated from them by a narrow sea; on their rear,

Ætolia and Acarnania; and on their sides, Locris and Bœotia. Phanotea in Phocis he took without difficulty at the first assault. The siege of Anticyra gave him not much delay. Then Ambrysis and Hyampolis were taken. Daulis, being situated on a lofty eminence, could not be reduced either by scalade or works: he therefore provoked the garrison by missile weapons to make sallies from out the town. Then by flying at one time, pursuing at another, and engaging in slight skirmishes, he led them into such a degree of carelessness, and such a contempt of him, that at length the Romans, mixing with them as they ran back, entered by the gates, and stormed the town. Six other fortresses in Phocis, of little consequence, came into his hands, through fear rather than by force of arms. Elatia shut its gates, and the inhabitants seemed determined not to admit within their walls either the army or the general of the Romans, unless compelled by force.

19. While the consul was employed in the siege of Elatia, a prospect opened to him of effecting a business of much more importance; of being able to prevail on the Achæans to renounce their alliance with Philip, and attach themselves to the Romans. Cycliades, the head of the faction that favored the interest of Philip, they had now banished; and Aristænus, who wished for a union between his countrymen and the Romans, was pretor. The Roman fleet, with Attalus and the Rhodians, lay at Cenchrea, and were preparing to lay siege to Corinth with their whole combined force. The consul therefore judged it prudent that, before they entered on that affair, ambassadors should be sent to the Aobæan state, with assurances that if they came over from the king to the side of the Romans, the latter would consign Corinth to them, and annex it to the old confederacy of their nation. Accordingly, by the consul's direction, ambassadors were sent to the Achæans, by his brother Lucius Quintius, by Attalus, and by the Rhodians and Athenians—a general assembly being summoned to meet at Sicyon to give them audi-

ence. Now the minds of the Achæans labored with a complication of difficulties. They feared the Lacedæmonians, their constant and inveterate enemies; they dreaded the arms of the Romans; they were under obligations to the Macedonians, for services both of ancient and of recent date; but the king himself, on account of his perfidy and cruelty, they looked on with jealous fear, and not judging from the behavior which he then assumed for the time, they knew that, on the conclusion of the war, they should find him a more tyrannic master. So that every one of them was not only at a loss what opinion he should support in the senate of his own particular state, or in the general diets of the nation; but, even when they deliberated within themselves, they could not with any certainty determine what they ought to wish, or what to prefer. Such was the unsettled state of mind of the members of the assembly when the ambassadors were introduced to audience. The Roman ambassador, Lucius Calpurnius, spoke first; next the ambassadors of king Attalus; after them, those of the Rhodians; and then Philip's. The Athenians were heard the last, that they might refute the discourses of the Macedonians. These inveighed against the king with the greatest acrimony of any, for no others had suffered from him so many and so severe hardships. So great a number of speeches succeeding each other, took up the whole of the day; and about sunset the council was adjourned.

20. Next day the council met again; and when the magistrates, according to the custom of the Greeks, gave leave, by their herald, to any person who chose to deliver his sentiments, not one stood forth; but they sat a long time, looking on each other in silence. It was no wonder that men, revolving in their minds matters of such contradictory natures, and who found themselves puzzled and confounded, should be involved in additional perplexity by the speeches continued through the whole preceding day; in which the difficulties, on all sides, were brought into view, and stated.

in their full force. At length Aristænus, the pretor of the Achæans, not to dismiss the council without any business being introduced, said: 'Achæans, where are now those violent disputes, in which, at your feasts and meetings, whenever mention was made of Philip and the Romans, you scarcely refrained from blows? Now, in a general assembly, summoned on that single business, when you have heard the arguments of the ambassadors on both sides, when the magistrates demand your opinions, when the herald calls you to declare your sentiments, you are struck dumb. Although your concern for the common safety be insufficient for determining the matter, cannot the party zeal which has attached you to one side or the other extort a word from any one of you? especially when none is so blind as not to perceive that the time for declaring and recommending what each either wishes or thinks most advisable, must be at the present moment; that is, before we make any decree. When a decree shall be once passed, every man, even such as at first may have disapproved the measure, must then support it as good and salutary.' These persuasions of the pretor, so far from prevailing on any one person to declare his opinion, did not excite in all that numerous assembly, collected out of so many states, so much as a murmur or a whisper.

21. Then the pretor, Aristænus, proceeded thus:— 'Chiefs of Achæa, you are not more at a loss what advice to give than you are for words to deliver it in; but every one is unwilling to promote the interest of the public at the risk of danger to himself. Were I in a private character, perhaps I too should be silent; but, as pretor, it is my duty to declare that I see evidently, either that the ambassadors ought to have been refused an audience of the council, or that they ought not to be dismissed from it without an answer. Yet how can I give them an answer, unless by a decree of yours? And, since not one of you who have been called to this assembly either chooses or dares to make known his sentiments, let us examine (as if they were opinions

proposed to our consideration) the speeches of the ambassadors delivered yesterday; supposing, for a moment, the speakers not to have required what was useful to themselves, but to have recommended what they thought most conducive to our advantage. The Romans, the Rhodians, and Attalus, request an alliance and friendship with us; and they demand to be assisted in the war which they are now engaged in against Philip. Philip reminds us of our league with him, and of the obligation of our oath: he requires only that we declare ourselves on his side; and says he will be satisfied if we do not intermeddle in the operations of the war. Who is there so short-sighted as not to perceive the reason why those, who are not yet our allies, require more than he who is? This arises not from modesty in Philip, nor from the want of it in the Romans. The Achæan harbors show what it is, which, while it bestows confidence to requisitions on one side, precludes it on the other. We see nothing belonging to Philip but his ambassador: the Roman fleet lies at Cenchrea, exhibiting to our view the spoils of the cities of Eubœa. We behold the consul and his legions, at the distance of a small tract of sea, overrunning Phocis and Locris. You were surprised at Philip's ambassador, Cleomedon, showing such diffidence yesterday in his application to us to take arms on the side of the king against the Romans. But if we, in pursuance of the same treaty and oath, the obligation of which he inculcated on us, were to ask of him that Philip should protect us, both from Nabis and his Lacedæmonians, and also from the Romans, he would be utterly unable to find, not only a force for the purpose, but even an answer to return. As much so, in truth, as was Philip himself, who endeavored, by promises of waging war against Nabis, to draw away our youth into Eubœa: but finding that we would neither decree such assistance to him, nor choose to be embroiled with Rome, forgot that alliance on which he now lays such stress, and left us to the Lacedæmonians to be spoiled and plundered. Besides, to me the arguments of Cleo-

medon appeared utterly inconsistent. He made light of the war with the Romans; and asserted, that the issue of it would be similar to that of the former which they waged against Philip. If such be the case, why does he, at a distance, solicit our assistance, rather than come hither in person, and defend us, his old allies, both from Nabis and from the Romans? Us, do I say? Why, then, has he suffered Eretria and Carystus to be taken? Why so many cities of Thessaly? Why Locris and Phocis? Why does he at present suffer Elatia to be besieged? Did he, either through compulsion, or fear, or choice, quit the straits of Epirus, and those impregnable fastnesses on the river Aous: and why, abandoning the possession of the pass, did he retire into his own kingdom? If, of his own will, he gave up so many allies to the ravages of the enemy, what objection can he make to these allies, after his example, taking care of themselves? If through fear, he ought to pardon the like fear in us: if his retreat was in consequence of a defeat, let me ask you, Cleomedon, shall we, Achæans, be able to withstand the Roman arms, which you, Macedonians, have not withstood? Are we to give credit to your assertion, that the Romans do not employ, in the present war, greater forces or greater strength than they did in the former, or are we to regard the real facts? In the first instance, they aided the Ætolians with a fleet; they sent not to the war either a consul as commander, or a consular army. The maritime cities of Philip's allies were in terror and confusion; but the inland places so secure against the Roman arms, that Philip ravaged the country of the Ætolians, while they in vain implored succor from those arms. Whereas, in the present case, the Romans, after bringing to a final conclusion the Punic war, which, raging for sixteen years in the bowels, as it were, of Italy, had given them abundance of trouble, sent not auxiliaries to the Ætolians in their quarrels, but, being themselves principals, made a hostile invasion on Macedonia with land and sea forces at once. Their third consul is now

pushing forward the war with the utmost vigor. Sulpicius, engaging the king within the territory of Macedonia itself, routed and utterly defeated him; and afterwards despoiled the most opulent part of his kingdom. Then, again, when he was in possession of the strait of Epirus, where, from the nature of the ground, his fortifications, and the strength of his army, he thought himself secure, Quintius drove him out of his camp; pursued him, as he fled into Thessaly; and, almost in the view of Philip himself, stormed the royal garrisons and the cities of his allies. Supposing that there were no truth in what the Athenian ambassadors mentioned yesterday respecting the cruelty, avarice, and lust of the king; supposing the crimes committed in the country of Attica against the gods, celestial and infernal, concerned us not at all; that we had less to complain of than what the people of Cius and Abydos, who are far distant from us, have endured: let us, then, if you please, forget even our own wounds; let the murders and ravages committed at Messena, and in the heart of Peloponnesus, the killing of his host Garitenes, at Cyparissia, in the midst of a feast, in contempt of laws divine and human; the murder of the two Aratuses of Sicyon, father and son, though he was wont to call the unfortunate old man his parent; his carrying away the son's wife into Macedonia for the gratification of his vicious appetites, and all his violations of virgins and matrons;—let all these, I say, be forgotten; let all be consigned to oblivion. Let us suppose our business were not with Philip, through dread of whose cruelty you are all thus struck dumb; for what other cause could keep you silent, when you have been summoned to a council? Let us imagine that we are treating with Antigonus, a prince of the greatest mildness and equity, to whose kindness we have all been highly indebted; would he require us to perform what at the time was impossible? Peloponnesus is a peninsula, united to the continent by a narrow isthmus, particularly exposed and open to the attacks of naval armaments. Now, if a hundred decked

ships, and fifty lighter open ones, and thirty Issean barks, shall begin to lay waste our coasts, and attack the cities which stand exposed, almost on the very shore,—shall we then retreat into the inland towns, as if we were not afflicted with an intestine war, though in truth it is rankling in our very bowels? When Nabis and the Lacedæmonians by land, and the Roman fleet by sea, shall press us, where must I implore the support due from the king's alliance; where the succors of the Macedonians? Shall we ourselves, with our own arms, defend, against the Roman forces, the cities that will be attacked? Truly, in the former war, we defended Dymæ excellently well! The calamities of others afford us abundant examples; let us not seek to render ourselves an example to the rest. Do not, because the Romans voluntarily desire your friendship, condemn that which you ought to have prayed for, nay, labored with all your might to obtain. But it is insinuated that they are impelled by fear, in a country to which they are strangers; and that, wishing to shelter themselves under your assistance, they have recourse to your alliance in the hope of being admitted into your harbors, and of there finding supplies of provisions. Now, at sea, they are absolute masters, and instantly reduce to subjection every place at which they land. What they request they have power to enforce. Because they wish to treat you with tenderness they do not allow you to take steps that must lead you to ruin. Cleomedon lately pointed out, as the middle and safest way, to maintain a neutrality; but that is not a middle way; it is no way: for, besides the necessity of either embracing or rejecting the Roman alliance, what other consequence can ensue from such conduct than that, while we show no steady attachment to either side, as if we waited the event with design to adapt our counsels to fortune, we shall become the prey of the conqueror? Condemn not, then, when it is offered to your acceptance, what you ought to have solicited with your warmest prayers. The free option between the two, which you have this

day, you will not always have. The same opportunity will not last long, nor will it frequently recur. You have long wished to deliver yourselves out of the hands of Philip, although you have not dared to make the attempt. Those have now crossed the sea, with large fleets and armies, who are able to set you at liberty, without any trouble or danger to yourselves. If you reject such allies, the soundness of your understandings may be called in question; but you must, unavoidably, have to deal with them, either as friends or foes.'

22. This speech of the pretor was followed by a general murmur; some declaring their approbation, and others sharply rebuking those who did so. And now, not only individuals, but whole states engaged in altercation; and at length the magistrates, called *demiurguses*, who are ten in number, took up the dispute with as much warmth as the multitude. Five of them declared that they would propose the question concerning an alliance with Rome, and would take the votes on it; while five insisted that there was a law, by which the magistrates were prohibited from proposing, and the council from decreeing, any thing injurious to the alliance with Philip. This day, also, was spent in contention, and there remained now but one day more of the regular time of sitting; for, according to the rule, the decree must be passed on the third day; and as that approached, the zeal of the parties was kindled into such a flame, that scarcely did parents refrain from offering violence to their own sons. There was present a man of Pallene, named *Rhisiasus*, whose son *Memnon* was a *demiurgus*, and was of that party which opposed the reading of the decree and taking the votes. This man, for a long time, intreated his son to allow the *Achæans* to take proper measures for their common safety, and not, by his obstinacy, to bring ruin on the whole nation; but, finding that his intreaties had no effect, he swore that he would treat him, not as a son, but as an enemy, and would put him to death with his own hand. By these threats he forced him, next day, to join the party that voted for the question being pro-

posed. These, having now become the majority, proposed the question accordingly, while almost every one of the states, openly approving the measure, showed plainly on which side they would vote. Whereon the Dymæans, Megalopolitans, with several of the Argives, rose up, and withdrew from the council; which step excited neither wonder nor disapprobation: for when, in the memory of their grandfathers, the Megalopolitans had been expelled their country by the Lacedæmonians, Antigonus had reinstated them in their native residence; and, at a later period, when Dymæ was taken and sacked by the Roman troops, Philip ordered that the inhabitants, wherever they were in servitude, should be ransomed, and not only restored them to their liberty but their country. As to the Argives, besides believing that the royal family of Macedonia derived its origin from them, the greater part were attached to Philip by personal acts of kindness and familiar friendship. For these reasons, when the council appeared disposed to order an alliance to be concluded with Rome, they withdrew; and their secession was readily excused, in consideration of the many and recent obligations by which they were bound to the king of Macedon.

23. The rest of the Achæan states, on their opinions being demanded, ratified, by an immediate decree, the alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians. That with the Romans, as it could not be perfected without an order from the people, they deferred until such time as they could hear from Rome. For the present, it was resolved, that three ambassadors should be sent to Lucius Quintius; and that the whole force of the Achæans should be brought up to Corinth, which city Quintius, after taking Cenchrea, was then besieging. The Achæans accordingly pitched their camp opposite to the gate that leads to Sicyon. The Romans made their approaches on the side of the city which faces Cenchrea; Attalus having drawn his army across the isthmus, towards Lechæum, the port on the opposite sea. At first they did not push forward their opera-

tions with any great degree of vigor, because they had hopes of a dissension breaking out between the townsmen and the king's troops: but afterwards, learning that they all co-operated with unanimity; that the Macedonians exerted themselves as if in defence of their native country; and that the Corinthians submitted to the orders of Androsthenes, commander of the garrison, as if he were their countryman, elected by their own suffrages, and invested with legal authority,—the assailants had no other hopes but in force, arms, and their works. They therefore brought up their mounds to the walls, though by very difficult approaches. On that side where the Romans attacked their ram demolished a considerable part of the wall; and the Macedonians having run together to defend the place, thus stripped of its works, a furious conflict ensued. At first, by reason of the enemy's superiority in number, the Romans were quickly repulsed; but being joined by the auxiliary troops of Attalus and the Achæans, they restored the fight to an equality; so that there was no doubt of their easily driving the Macedonians and Greeks from their ground, but that there were in the town a great multitude of Italian deserters; some of whom, having been in Hannibal's army, had, through fear of being punished by the Romans, followed Philip; others, having been sailors, had lately quitted the fleets, in hopes of more honorable employment: despair of safety, therefore, in case of the Romans getting the better, inflamed these to a degree which might rather be called madness than courage. Opposite to Sicyon is the promontory of Juno Acræa, as she is called, stretching out into the main, the passage to Corinth being about seven miles. To this place Philocles, one of the king's generals, led, through Bœotia, fifteen hundred soldiers; and there were barks from Corinth ready to take these troops on board, and carry them over to Lechæum. Attalus, on this, advised to burn the works, and raise the siege immediately. Quintius was inclined to persevere in the attempt. However, when he saw the king's troops

posted at all the gates, and that the sallies of the besieged could not easily be withstood, he came over to the opinion of Attalus. Thus baffled in their design, they dismissed the Achæans, and returned to their ships. Attalus steered to Piræus, the Romans to Corcyra.

24. While the naval forces were thus employed, the consul, having encamped before Elatia, in Phocis, first endeavored, by conferring with the principal inhabitants, to bring them over, and by their means to effect his purpose; but on their answering that they had nothing in their power, because the king's troops were more numerous and stronger than the townsmen, he assaulted the city on all sides at once with arms and engines. A battering-ram shattered a part of the wall that reached from one tower to another, and this falling with a prodigious noise and crash, left much of the town exposed. On this a Roman cohort made an assault through the breach, while at the same time the townsmen, quitting their several posts, ran together from all parts to the endangered place. Others of the Romans climbed over the ruins of the wall, and brought up scaling-ladders to the parts that were standing. As the conflict attracted the eyes and attention of the enemy to one particular spot, the walls were scaled in several places, by which means the soldiers easily entered the town. The noise and tumult which ensued so terrified the enemy, that quitting the place which they had crowded together to defend, they all fled in panic to the citadel, accompanied by the unarmed multitude. The consul having thus become master of the town, gave it up to be plundered, and then sent a messenger into the citadel, offering the king's troops their lives, on condition of their laying down their arms and departing. To the Elatians he offered their liberty; which terms being agreed to, in a few days after he got possession of the citadel.

25. In consequence of Philocles, the king's general, coming into Achaia, not only Corinth was delivered from the siege, but the city of Argos was betrayed into

his hands by some of the principal inhabitants, after they had first sounded the minds of the populace. They had a custom, that, on the first day of assembly, their pretors, for the omen's sake, should pronounce the names Jupiter, Apollo, and Hercules; in addition to which, a rule had been made, that, along with these, they should join the name of king Philip. After the conclusion of the alliance with the Romans the herald omitted so to honor him; on which a murmur spread through the multitude, and they soon became clamorous, calling out for the name of Philip, and insisting that the respect, due by law, should be paid as before; which at length being complied with, universal approbation ensued. On the encouragement afforded by this favorable disposition, Philocles was invited, who seized in the night a strong post called Larissa, seated on a hill which overhangs the city, and in which he placed a garrison. At the dawn of day, however, and as he was proceeding in order of battle to the forum, at the foot of the hill he was met by a line of troops, drawn up to oppose him. This was a body of Achæans, lately posted there, consisting of about five hundred young men, selected out of all the states. Their commander was Ænesidemus, of Dymæ. The king's general sent a person to recommend to them to evacuate the city, because they were not a match for the townsmen alone, who favored the cause of Philip; much less when these were joined by the Macedonians, whom even the Romans had not withstood at Corinth. This at first had no effect, either on the commander, or his men: and when they, soon after, perceived the Argives also in arms, coming, in a great body, from the opposite side, and threatening them with destruction, they yet seemed determined to run every hazard, if their leader would persevere. But Ænesidemus, unwilling that the flower of the Achæan youth should be lost, together with the city, made terms with Philocles, that they should have liberty to retire, while himself remained armed with a few of his dependents, and without even stirring from his station. To a per-

son, sent by Philocles to inquire what he meant, he only answered, standing with his shield held out before him, that he meant to die in arms in defence of the city intrusted to his charge. Philocles then ordered some Thracians to throw their javelins at him and his attendants; and they were, every man of them, slain. Thus notwithstanding the alliance concluded by the Achæans with the Romans, two of their cities, and those of the greatest consequence, Argos and Corinth, were still in the hands of Philip. Such were the services performed in that campaign by the land and sea forces of Rome employed in Greece.

26. In Gaul, the consul Sextus Ælius did nothing worth mention, though he had two armies in the province; one, which he had retained under their standards, although it ought to have been disbanded; and of this, which had served under Lucius Cornelius, proconsul, he had given the command to Caius Helvius, the pretor: the other he had brought with him. He spent nearly the whole summer in compelling the people of Cremona and Placentia to return to their colonies, from whence they had been driven to various places by the calamities of war. While Gaul, beyond expectation, remained quiet through the whole year, an insurrection of the slaves was very near taking place in the neighborhood of the city. The hostages, given by the Carthaginians, were kept in custody at Setia: as they were the children of the principal families, they were attended by a great multitude of slaves; to this number many were added, in consequence of the late African war, and by the Setians themselves having bought, from among the spoil, several of those which had been captured. Having conspired together, they sent some of their number to engage in the cause their fellows of the country round Setia, with those at Norba and Circeii. When every thing was fully prepared, they determined, during the games which were soon to be solemnised at the first-mentioned place, to attack the people while intent on the show, and, putting them to death, to make them-

selves masters of the city in the sudden confusion; and then to seize on Norba and Circeii. Information of this atrocious plot was brought to Rome, to Lucius Cornelius Merula, the city pretor. Two slaves came to him before day, and disclosed the whole proceedings and intentions of the conspirators. The pretor, ordering them to be guarded in his own house, summoned a meeting of the senate; and having laid before them the information of the discoverers, he was ordered to go himself to the spot, and examine into, and crush the conspiracy. Setting out, accordingly, with five lieutenants-general, he compelled such as he found in the country to take the military oath, to arm, and follow him. Having by this tumultuary kind of levy armed about two thousand men, before it was possible to guess his destination he came to Setia. There the leaders of the conspiracy were instantly apprehended; on which, the remainder fled from the city; but parties were sent through the country to search them out. The services of the two who made the discovery, and of one free person employed, were highly meritorious. The senate ordered a present to the latter of a hundred thousand asses:¹ to the slaves, twenty-five thousand asses² each, and their freedom. The price was paid to their owners out of the treasury. Not long after, intelligence was received, that others, out of the remaining spirit of the conspiracy, had formed a design of seizing Præneste. The pretor, Lucius Cornelius, went thither, and inflicted punishment on near five hundred persons concerned in that wicked scheme. The public were under apprehensions that the Carthaginian hostages and prisoners fomented these plots: watches were, therefore, kept at Rome in all the streets, which the inferior magistrates were ordered to go round and inspect; while the triumvirs of the prison, called the Quarry, were to keep a stricter guard than usual. Circular letters were also sent by the pretor to all the Latine states, directing that the hos-

¹ 322l. 18s. 4d. ² 80l. 14s. 7d.

tages should be confined within doors, and not at any time allowed the liberty of going into public; and that the prisoners should be kept bound with fetters, of not less than ten pounds weight, and confined in the common jail.

27. In this year ambassadors from king Attalus made an offering, in the capitol, of a golden crown of two hundred and fifty-six pounds weight, and returned thanks to the senate, because Antiochus, complying with the requisitions of the Romans, had withdrawn his troops out of Attalus' territories. During this summer two hundred horsemen, ten elephants, and two hundred thousand pecks of wheat, were furnished by king Masinissa to the army in Greece. From Sicily also, and Sardinia, large supplies of provisions were sent, with clothing for the troops. Sicily was then governed by Marcus Marcellus, Sardinia by Marcus Porcius Cato, a man of acknowledged integrity and purity of conduct, but deemed too severe in punishing usury. He drove the usurers intirely out of the island; and restricted or abolished the contributions, usually paid by the allies, for maintaining the dignity of the pretors. The consul, Sextus Ælius, coming home from Gaul to Rome to hold the elections, elected consuls, Caius Cornelius Cethegus and Quintus Minucius Rufus. Two days after was held the election of pretors; and this year, for the first time, six pretors were appointed, in consequence of the increase of the provinces, and the extension of the bounds of the empire. The persons elected were Lucius Manlius Vulso, Caius Sempronius Tuditanus, Marcus Sergius Silus, Marcus Helvius, Marcus Minucius Rufus, and Lucius Atilius. Of these Sempronius and Helvius were at the time plebeian ediles. The curule ediles were Quintus Minucius Thermus, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. The Roman games were four times repeated during this year.

28. When the new consuls, Caius Cornelius and Quintus Minucius, entered into office [A. U. C. 555. B. C. 197], the chief business was the adjusting of the

provinces of the consuls and pretors. Those of the pretors were the first settled, because that could be done by the lots. The city jurisdiction fell to Sergius; the foreign to Minucius; Atilius obtained Sardinia; Manlius, Sicily; Sempronius, the Hither Spain, and Helvius, the Farther. When the consuls were preparing to cast lots for Italy and Macedonia, Lucius Oppius and Quintus Fulvius, plebeian tribunes, objected to their proceeding, alleging that 'Macedonia was a very distant province, and that the principal cause which had hitherto retarded the progress of the war was that, when it was scarcely entered on, and just at the commencement of operations, the former consul was always recalled. This was the fourth year since the declaration of war against Macedonia. The greater part of one year Sulpicius spent in seeking the king and his army; Villius, on the point of engaging the enemy, was recalled. Quintius was detained at Rome, for the greater part of his year, by business respecting religion; nevertheless, he had so conducted affairs, that had he come earlier into the province, or had the cold season been at a greater distance, he might have put an end to hostilities. He was then just going into winter quarters; but, by all accounts, he had brought the war into such a state, that if he were not prevented by a successor, there was a reasonable prospect of being able to put an end to it in the course of the ensuing summer.' By such arguments the tribunes so far prevailed, that the consuls declared that they would abide by the directions of the senate, if the cavillers would agree to do the same. Both parties having, accordingly, referred the determination intirely to those magistrates, a decree was passed, appointing the two consuls to the government of the province of Italy. Titus Quintius was continued in command, until a successor should be found. To each two legions were decreed; and they were ordered with these to carry on the war with the Cisalpine Gauls, who had revolted from the Romans. A reinforcement of five thousand foot and three hundred horse

was ordered to be sent into Macedonia to Quintius, together with three thousand seamen. Lucius Quintius Flamininus was continued in the command of the fleet. To each of the pretors, for the two Spains, were granted eight thousand foot, of the allies and Latines, and four hundred horse; and they were ordered to discharge the veteran troops in their provinces, and also to fix the bounds which should divide the hither from the farther province. Two additional lieutenants-general were sent to the army in Macedonia, Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius, who had been consuls in that province.

29. It was thought necessary that before the consuls and pretors went abroad some prodigies should be expiated: for the temples of Vulcan and Summanus,¹ at Rome, and a wall and a gate at Fregellæ, had been struck by lightning. At Frusino, during the night, a light like day shone out. At Asculum, a lamb was born with two heads and five feet. At Formiæ, two wolves entering the town tore several persons who fell in their way; and, at Rome, a wolf made its way, not only into the city, but into the capitol. Caius Acilius, plebeian tribune, caused an order to be passed that five colonies should be led out to the sea-coast; two to the mouths of the rivers Volturnus and Lirernus; one to Puteoli, and one to the fort of Salernum. To these was added Buxentum. To each colony three hundred families were ordered to be sent. The commissioners appointed to make the settlements, who were to hold the office for three years, were Marcus Servilius Geminus, Quintus Minucius Thermus, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. As soon as the levies, and such other business, religious and civil, as required their personal attendance, was finished, the consuls set out for Gaul. Cornelius took the direct road towards the Insubrians, who were then in arms, and had been joined by the Cœnomanians. Quintus Minucius turned his route to the left side of Italy, and leading away his army to

¹ Pluto, Summus Manium.

the lower sea, to Genoa, opened the campaign with an invasion of Liguria. Two towns, Clastidium and Litubium, both belonging to the Ligurians, and two states of the same nation, Celela and Cerdicium, surrendered to him. And now, all the states on this side of the Po, except the Boians among the Gauls, and the Ilvatiens among the Ligurians, were reduced to submission: no less, it is said, than fifteen towns and twenty thousand men. He then led his legions into the territory of the Boians.

30. The Boian army had, not very long before, crossed the Po, and joined the Insubrians and Cœnomanians; for, having heard that the consuls intended to act with their forces united, they wished to increase their own strength by this junction. But when information reached them that one of the consuls was ravaging the country of the Boians, a dispute instantly arose. The Boians demanded that all, in conjunction, should carry succor to those who were attacked; while the Insubrians positively refused to leave their country defenceless. In consequence of this dissension, the armies separated; the Boians went to defend their own territory, and the Insubrians, with the Cœnomanians, encamped on the banks of the river Minus. About five miles below this spot the consul Cornelius pitched his camp close to the same river. Sending emissaries hence into the villages of the Cœnomanians, and Brixia, the capital of their tribe, he learned with certainty that their young men had taken arms without the approbation of the elders; and that the Cœnomanians had not joined in the revolt of the Insubrians, by any authority from the state. On which he invited to him the principal of the natives, and endeavored to contrive and concert with them the means of inducing the younger Cœnomanians to forsake the party of the Insubrians; and either to march away and return home, or to come over to the side of the Romans. This he was not able to effect; but so far, he received solemn assurances that, in case of a battle, they would either stand inactive, or,

should any occasion offer, would even assist the Romans. The Insubrians knew not that such an agreement had been concluded, but they harbored in their minds some kind of suspicion that the fidelity of their confederates was wavering. Wherefore, in forming their troops for battle, not daring to intrust either wing to them, lest, if they should treacherously give ground, they might cause a total defeat, they placed them in reserve behind the line. At the beginning of the fight the consul vowed a temple to Juno Sospita, provided the enemy should on that day be routed, and driven from the field; on which the soldiers raised a shout, declaring, that they would insure to their commander the completion of his vow, and at the same time attacked the enemy. The Insubrians did not stand even the first onset. Some writers affirm that the Cœnomanians, falling on their rear, during the heat of the engagement, caused as much disorder there as prevailed in their front; and that, thus assailed on both sides, thirty-five thousand of them were slain, five thousand seven hundred taken prisoners, among whom was Hamilcar, a Carthaginian general, the original cause of the war; and that a hundred and thirty military standards, and above two hundred waggons were taken. On this, the towns, which had joined in the revolt, surrendered to the Romans.

31. The other consul, Minucius, had at first spread his troops through the territories of the Boians, committing violent depredations every where; but afterwards, when that people left the Insubrians, and came home to defend their own property, he kept his men within their camp, expecting to come to an engagement with the enemy. Nor would the Boians have declined a battle if their spirits had not been depressed, by hearing of the defeat of the Insubrians. This so deeply affected them, that, deserting their commander and their camp, they dispersed themselves through the several towns, each wishing to take care of his own effects. Thus they obliged the enemy to alter their mode of carrying on the war: for, no lon-

ger hoping to decide the matter by a single battle, he began again to lay waste the lands, burn the houses, and storm the villages. At this time Clastidium was burned, and the legions were led thence against the Ilvavian Ligurians, who alone refused to submit. That state also, on learning that the Insubrians had been defeated in battle, and the Boians so terrified that they had not dared to risk an engagement, made a submission. Letters from the consuls, containing accounts of their successes, came from Gaul to Rome at the same time. Marcus Sergius, city pretor, read them in the senate, and afterwards, by direction of the Fathers, in an assembly of the people; on which a supplication, of four days' continuance, was decreed.—By this time winter had begun.

32. During the winter, while Titus Quintius, after the reduction of Elatia, had his troops cantoned in Phocis and Locris, a violent dissension broke out at Opus. One faction invited to their assistance the Ætolians, who were nearest at hand; the other the Romans. The Ætolians arrived first; but the other party, which was the more powerful, refused them admittance, and, despatching a courier to the Roman general, held the citadel until he arrived. The citadel was possessed by a garrison belonging to the king, and they could not be prevailed on to give it up, either by the threats of the people of Opus, or by the commands of the Roman consul. What prevented their being immediately attacked was the arrival of an envoy from the king, to solicit the appointing of a time and place for a conference. This request was readily complied with; not that Quintius did not wish to see war concluded under his own auspices, partly by arms, and partly by negotiation: for he knew not yet whether one of the new consuls would be sent to take the government in his room, or whether he should be continued in the command; a point which he had charged his friends and relations to labor with all their might. But he thought that a conference would answer this purpose: that it would put it in his

power to give matters a turn towards war, in case he remained in the province, or towards peace, if he were to be removed. They chose for the meeting a part of the sea-shore, in the Malian gulf, near Nicæa. Thither Philip came from Demetrias, with five barks and one ship of war: he was accompanied by some principal Macedonians, and an Achæan exile, named Cycliades, a man of considerable note. With the Roman general were king Amynander, Dionysidorus, ambassador from king Attalus, Agesimbrotus, commander of the Rhodian fleet, Phæneas, pretor of the Ætolians, and two Achæans, Aristæus and Xenophon. Attended by these, the Roman general advanced to the brink of the shore, and the king came forward to the prow of his vessel, as it lay at anchor; when the former said, 'If you will come on the shore we shall converse with greater ease.' This the king refused; and on Quintius asking him, 'Whom do you fear?' With the haughty spirit of royalty, he replied, 'Fear I have none, but of the immortal gods; but I have no confidence in the faith of those whom I see about you, and least of all in the Ætolians.'—'That danger,' said the Roman, 'is equal in all cases; when men confer with an enemy, no confidence subsists.'—'But, Titus Quintius,' replied the king, 'if treachery be intended, the prizes of perfidy are not equal: Philip and Phæneas. For it will not be so difficult for the Ætolians to find another pretor, as for the Macedonians to find another king in my place.'—Silence then ensued.

33. The Roman expected that he who solicited the conference, should open it; and the king thought that he who was to prescribe, not he who received terms of peace, ought to begin the conference. At length the Roman said that 'his discourse should be very simple; for he would only mention those articles, without which no pacification could be admitted. These were that the king should withdraw his garrisons from all the cities of Greece. That he should deliver up to the allies of the Roman people the prisoners and deserters; should restore to the Romans

those places in Illyricum of which he had possessed himself by force, since the peace concluded in Epirus; and to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, the cities which he had seized since the death of Ptolemy Philopater. These were the terms which he required, on behalf of himself and the Roman people: but it was proper that the demands of the allies also should be heard. The ambassador of king Attalus demanded 'restitution of the ships and prisoners taken in the sea-fight at Cius: and that Nicephorium, and the temple of Venus, which Philip had pillaged and defaced, should be put in a state of thorough repair.' The Rhodians laid claim to *Peræa*, a tract on the continent, lying opposite to their island, which from early times had been under their jurisdiction; and they required that 'the garrisons should be withdrawn from *Tassus*, *Bargylîi*, and *Eurroma*, and from *Sestus* and *Abydos* on the *Hellespont*; that *Perinthus* should be restored to the *Byzantians*, in right of their ancient title; and that all the seaport towns and harbors of *Asia* should be free.' The *Achæans* asserted their right to *Corinth* and *Argos*. *Phæneas* nearly repeated the demands made by the Romans, that the troops should withdraw out of *Greece*, and the *Ætolians* be put in possession of the cities which had formerly been under their dominion. He was followed by *Alexander*, a man of eminence among this people, and, considering his country, not uneloquent. He said that 'he had long kept silence, not because he expected that any business would be effected in that conference, but because he was unwilling to interrupt any of the allies in their discourse.' He asserted that 'Philip had neither treated of peace with sincerity, nor waged war with courage, at any time: that in negotiating he was insidious and fraudulent: while in war he never fought on equal ground, nor engaged in regular battles; but, skulking about, burned and pillaged towns, and, when likely to be vanquished, destroyed the prizes of victory. But not in that manner did the ancient kings of *Macedon* behave; they decided the fate of the war in the field,

and spared the towns as far as they were able, in order to possess the more opulent empire. For, what sort of conduct was it to destroy the objects, for the possession of which the contest was waged, and thereby leave nothing to himself but fighting? Philip had, in the last year, desolated more cities of his allies in Thessaly than all the enemies that Thessaly ever had. On the Ætolians themselves he had made greater depredations, when he was in alliance with them, than since he became their enemy. He had seized on *Lysimachia*, after dislodging the pretor and garrison of the Ætolians. *Cius* also, a city belonging to their government, he rased from the foundation. With the same injustice, he held possession of *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*, of *Echinus*, *Larissa*, and *Pharsalus*.

34. Philip, provoked by this discourse of Alexander, pushed his ship nearer to the land, that he might be the better heard, and began to speak with much violence, particularly against the Ætolians. But *Phæneas*, interrupting him, said that 'the business depended not on words; he must either conquer in war, or submit to his superiors.'—'That, indeed, is evident,' said Philip, 'even to the blind,' sneering at *Phæneas*, who had a disorder in his eyes; for he was naturally fonder of such pleasantries than became a king; and even in the midst of serious business, he indulged a turn to ridicule farther than was decent. He then expressed great indignation at the 'Ætolians assuming as much importance as the Romans, and insisting on his evacuating Greece; people who knew not even its boundaries: for, of Ætolia itself, a large proportion, consisting of the *Agræans*, *Apodeotians*, and *Amphilochians*, was no part of Greece. Have they just ground of complaint against me, for not refraining from war with their allies, when themselves, from the earliest period, follow, as an established rule, the practice of suffering their young men to carry arms against those allies, withholding only the public authority of the state; while very frequently contending armies have Ætolian auxiliaries on both sides? I did not seize on *Cius* by

force, but assisted my friend and ally, Prusias, who was besieging it, and Lysimachia I rescued from the Thracians. But since necessity diverted my attention from the guarding of it to this present war, the Thracians have possession of it. So much for the Ætolians. To Attalus and the Rhodians I in justice owe nothing; for not to me, but to themselves, is the commencement of hostilities to be attributed. However, out of respect to the Romans, I will restore Peræ to the Rhodians, and to Attalus his ships, and such prisoners as can be found. As to what concerns Nicephorium, and the temple of Venus, what other answer can I make to those who require their restoration, than what I should make in case of woods and groves cut down; that, as the only way of restoring them, I will take on myself the trouble and expense of planting, since it is thought fit that, between kings, such kinds of demands should be made and answered? The last part of his speech was directed to the Achæans, wherein he enumerated, first, the kindnesses of Antigonus; then, his own towards their nation, desiring them to consider the decrees themselves had passed concerning him, which comprehended every kind of honor, divine and human; and to these he added their late decree, by which they had confirmed the resolution of deserting him. He inveighed bitterly against their perfidy, but told them that nevertheless he would give them back Argos. 'With regard to Corinth, he would consult with the Roman general; and would, at the same time, inquire from him, whether he demanded only that he, Philip, should evacuate those cities which, being captured by himself, were held by the right of war; or those, also, which he had received from his ancestors.'

35. The Achæans and Ætolians were preparing to answer, but, as the sun was near setting, the conference was adjourned to the next day; and Philip returned to his station whence he came, the Romans and allies to their camp. On the following day, Quintius repaired to Nicæa, which was the place agreed on, at the

appointed time; but neither Philip, nor any message from him, came for several hours. At length, when they began to despair of his coming, his ships suddenly appeared. He said that 'the terms enjoined were so severe and humiliating that, not knowing what to determine, he had spent the day in deliberation.' But the general opinion was, that he had purposely delayed the business, that the Achæans and Ætolians might not have time to answer him: and this opinion he himself confirmed, by desiring, in order to avoid altercation, and to bring the affair to some conclusion, that the others should retire, and leave him to converse with the Roman general: for some time, this was not admitted, lest the allies should appear to be excluded from the conference. Afterwards, on his persisting in his desire, the Roman general, with the consent of all, taking with him Appius Claudius, a military tribune, advanced to the brink of the coast, and the rest retired. The king, with the two persons whom he had brought the day before, came on shore, where they conversed a considerable time in private. What account of their proceedings Philip gave to his people is not well known: what Quintius told the allies was, that 'Philip was willing to cede to the Romans the whole coast of Illyricum, and to give up the deserters and prisoners, if there were any. That he consented to restore to Attalus his ships, and the seamen taken with them; and to the Rhodians the tract which they call *Peræa*. That he refused to evacuate Iassus and Bargylli. To the Ætolians he was ready to restore Pharsalus and Larissa; Thebes he would keep: and that he would give back to the Achæans the possession, not only of Argos, but of Corinth also.' This arrangement pleased none of the parties; neither those to whom the concessions were to be made, nor those to whom they were refused; 'for on that plan,' they said, 'more would be lost than gained; nor could the grounds of contention ever be removed but by his utterly evacuating every part of Greece.'

36. These expressions, delivered with eagerness and vehemence by every one in the assembly, reached the ears of Philip, though he stood at a distance. He therefore requested of Quintius that the whole business might be deferred until the next day; and then he would, positively, either prevail on the allies to accede to his proposals, or suffer himself to be prevailed on to accede to theirs. The shore at Thronium was appointed for their meeting, and all the parties assembled there early. Philip began with intreating Quintius, and all who were present, not to harbor such sentiments as must tend to obstruct a pacification; and then desired time while he could send ambassadors to Rome, to the senate, declaring that 'he would either obtain a peace on the terms mentioned, or would accept whatever terms the senate should prescribe.' None approved of this: they said, he only sought a delay, and leisure to collect his strength. But Quintius observed, 'that such an objection would have been well founded, if it were then summer and a season fit for action: as matters stood, and the winter being just at hand, nothing would be lost by allowing him time to send ambassadors: for, without the authority of the senate, no agreement which they might conclude with the king would be valid; and besides, they would by this means have an opportunity, while the winter itself would necessarily cause a suspension of arms, to learn what terms were likely to be approved by the senate.' The other chiefs of the allies came over to this opinion; and a cessation of hostilities for two months being granted, they resolved that each of their states should send an ambassador with the necessary information to the senate, and in order that it should not be deceived by the misrepresentations of Philip. To the above contention was added an article, that all the king's troops should be immediately withdrawn from Phocis and Locris. With the ambassadors of the allies Quintius sent Amynander, king of Athamania; and, to add a degree of splendor to the embassy, a deputation from himself, composed

of Quintus Fabius, the son of his wife's sister, Quintus Fulvius, and Appius Claudius.

37. On their arrival at Rome, the ambassadors of the allies were admitted to audience before those of the king. Their discourse, in general, was filled up with invectives against Philip. What produced the greatest effect on the minds of the senate was, that, by pointing out the relative situations of the lands and seas in that part of the world, they made it manifest to every one that if the king held Demetrias in Thessaly, Chalcis in Eubœa, and Corinth in Achaia, Greece could not be free; and they added, that Philip himself, with not more insolence than truth, used to call these the fetters of Greece. The king's ambassadors were then introduced, and, when they were beginning a long harangue, they were stopped by a short question, Whether he was willing to yield up the three above-mentioned cities? They answered, that they had received no specific instructions on that head: on which they were dismissed, without having made any progress towards a peace. Full authority was given to Quintius to determine every thing relative to war and peace. As this demonstrated clearly that the senate were not weary of the war, so he who was more earnestly desirous of conquest than of peace, never afterwards consented to a conference with Philip; and even gave him notice that he would not admit any embassy from him, unless it came with information that his troops were retiring from Greece.

38. Philip now perceived that he must decide the matter by arms, and collect his strength about him from all quarters. Being particularly uneasy in respect to the cities of Achaia, a country so distant from him, and also of Argos, even more, indeed, than of Corinth, he resolved, as the most advisable method, to put the former into the hands of Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, in trust as it were, on the terms, that if he should prove successful in the war, Nabis should redeliver it to him; if any misfortune should happen, he

should keep it himself. Accordingly, he wrote to Philocles, who had the command in Corinth and Argos, to have a meeting with the tyrant. Philocles, besides coming with a valuable present, added to that pledge of future friendship between the king and the tyrant, that it was Philip's wish to unite his daughters in marriage to the sons of Nabis. The tyrant at first refused to receive the city on any other terms than that of being invited by a decree of the Argives themselves: but afterwards, hearing that in a full assembly they had treated his name not only with scorn, but even with abhorrence, he thought he had now a sufficient excuse for plundering them, and he accordingly desired Philip to give him possession of the place. Nabis was admitted into the city in the night, without the privy of any of the inhabitants, and, at the first light, seized on the higher parts of it, and shut the gates. A few of the principal people having made their escape during the first confusion, the properties of all who were absent were seized as booty: those who were present were stripped of their gold and silver, and loaded with exorbitant contributions. Such as paid these readily were discharged without personal insult and laceration of their bodies; but such as were suspected of hiding or reserving any of their effects, were mangled and tortured like slaves. He then summoned an assembly, in which he proposed the passing of two laws; one for an abolition of debts, the other for a distribution of the land, in shares, to each man—two firebrands in the hands of the enemies of government, for inflaming the populace against the higher ranks.

39. The tyrant, when he had the city of Argos in his power, never considering from whom, or on what conditions, he had received it, sent ambassadors to Elatia, to Quintius, and to Attalus, in his winter quarters at Ægina, to tell them that 'he was in possession of Argos; and that if Quintius would come hither and consult with him, he had no doubt but that every thing

might be adjusted between them.' Quintius glad of an opportunity of depriving Philip of that stronghold, along with the rest, consented to come: accordingly, sending a message to Attalus to leave Ægina, and meet him at Sicyon, he set sail from Anticyra with ten quinqueremes, which his brother Lucius Quintius happened to bring a little before from his winter station at Corcyra, and passed over to Sicyon. Attalus was there before him, who, representing that the tyrant ought to come to the Roman general, not the general to the tyrant, brought Quintius over to his opinion, which was, that he should not enter the city of Argos. Not far from it, however, was a place called Mycenica; and there the parties agreed to meet. Quintius came with his brother and a few military tribunes; Attalus, with his royal retinue; and Nicostratus, the pretor of the Achæans, with a few of the auxiliary officers: and they there found Nabis waiting with his whole army. He advanced, armed and attended by his guards, almost to the middle of the interjacent plain; Quintius, unarmed, with his brother and two military tribunes; the king was accompanied by one of his nobles, and the pretor of the Achæans, unarmed likewise. The tyrant, when he saw the king and the Roman general unarmed, opened the conference, with apologising for having come to the meeting armed himself, and surrounded with armed men. 'He had no apprehensions,' he said, 'from them; but only from the Argive exiles.' When they then began to treat of the terms on which friendship was to be established between them, the Roman made two demands: one, that the Lacedæmonian should conclude a peace with the Achæans; the other, that he should send him aid against Philip. He promised the aid required; but, instead of a peace with the Achæans, a cessation of hostilities was obtained, to last until the war with Philip should be ended.

40. A debate concerning the Argives also, was set on foot by king Attalus, who charged Nabis with hold-

ing their city by force, which was put into his hands by the treachery of Philocles; while Nabis insisted, that he had been invited by the Argives themselves to afford them protection. The king required a general assembly of the Argives to be convened, that the truth of that matter might be known. To this the tyrant did not object; but the king alleged that the Lacedæmonian troops ought to be withdrawn from the city, in order to render the assembly free; and that the people should be left at liberty to declare their real sentiments. This was refused, and the debate produced no effect. To the Roman general six hundred Cretans were given by Nabis, who agreed with the pretor of the Achæans to a cessation of arms for four months, and then the conference broke up. Quintius proceeded to Corinth, advancing to the gates with the cohort of Cretans, in order to show Philocles, the governor of the city, that the tyrant had deserted the cause of Philip. Philocles came out to confer with the Roman general; and, on the latter exhorting him to change sides immediately, and surrender the city, he answered in such a manner as showed an inclination rather to defer, than to refuse the matter. From Corinth, Quintius sailed over to Anticyra, and sent his brother thence to sound the disposition of the people of Acarnania. Attalus went from Argos to Sicyon. Here, on one side, the state added new honors to those formerly paid to the king; and, on the other, the king, besides having on a former occasion redeemed for them, at a vast expense, a piece of land sacred to Apollo, unwilling to pass by the city of his friends and allies without a token of munificence, made them a present of ten talents of silver,¹ and ten thousand bushels of corn, and then returned to Cenchreæ to his fleet. Nabis, leaving a strong garrison at Argos, returned to Lacedæmon; and, as he himself had pillaged the men, he sent his wife to Argos to pillage the women. She

¹ 1937*l.* 10*s.*

invited to her house, sometimes singly, and sometimes in numbers, all the females of distinction who were related to each other; and partly by fair speeches, partly by threats, stripped them not only of their gold, but, at last, even of their garments, and every article of dress.

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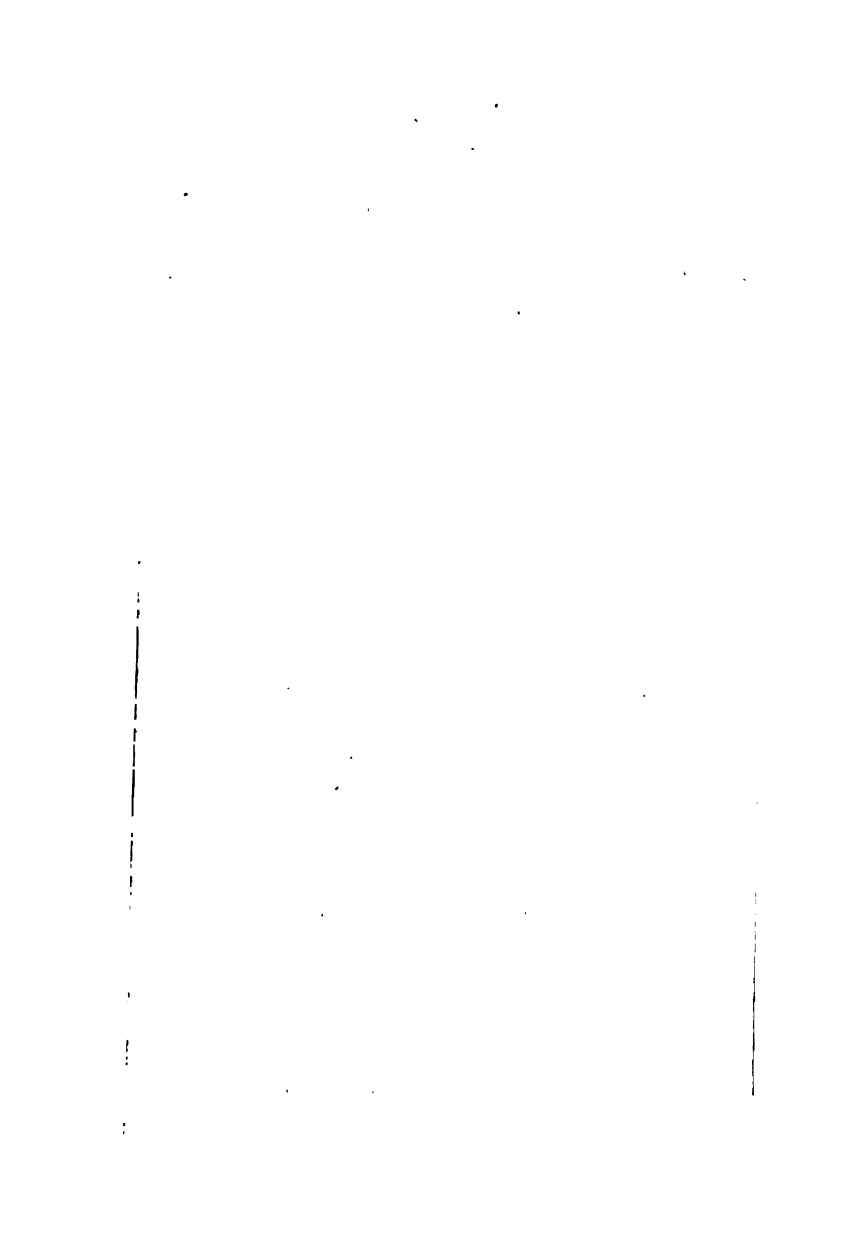
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